



# Preservation of National Monuments:

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## FORTRESS GWALIOR.

BY

MAJOR J. B. KEITH,

LATE ROYAL SCOTS,

*Superintending Monumental Preservation, Fortress Gwalior.*

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AUGUST 1882.

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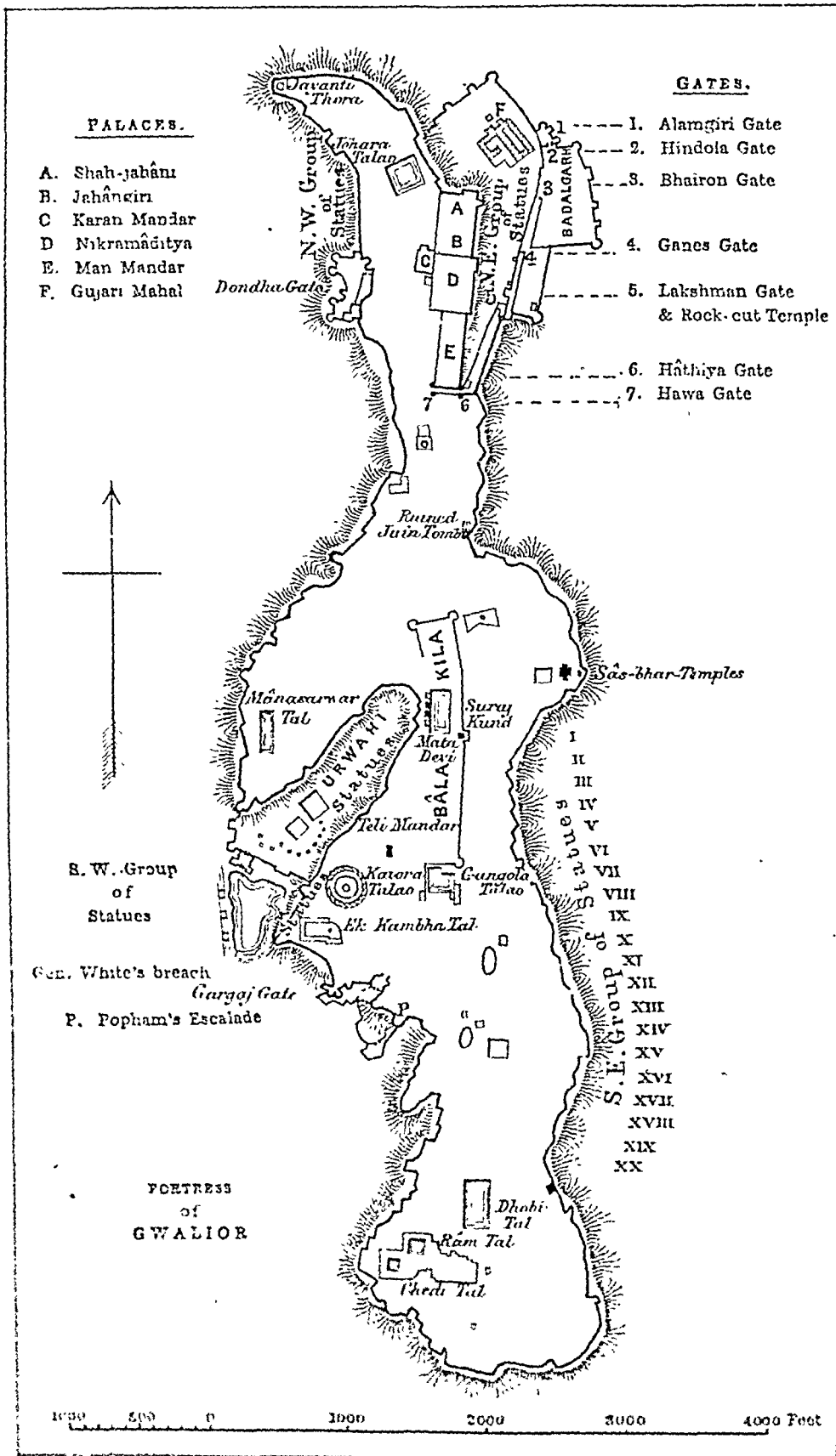
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# GWALIOR



## PRESERVATION OF NATIONAL MONUMENTS.

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### GWALIOR.

A FEW prefatory words will indicate the subject-matter of this report. No detailed history of Gwalior or its archæology is aimed at; nor is such a venture necessary seeing that General Cunningham has treated the subject in such an exhaustive and accurate manner as to render superfluous the labours of all future enquirers. Besides, archæology and monumental preservation are not quite synonymous terms,—the one having for its object the evolution of ancient history, the other seeking to protect a civilisation of the past while holding up, in the case of India, its ancient monuments as illustrating an excellence in art and building quite unknown at the present time. In the succeeding pages I have confined myself, as far as possible, to an enumeration of the various buildings, describing in detail only those that have been deemed worthy of preservation. As might be expected, the work carried into execution is of a limited nature and compatible only with the funds at disposal. For some time my attention was restricted to the removal of chuna and accretions of white-wash from the various buildings indicated by the Curator of Ancient monuments in his first report on Gwalior. Subsequently, at the suggestion of the Brigadier-General through Captain Cole, I have been superintending the various repairs to historical buildings, which are being carried out by the Public Works Department<sup>1</sup>. This I have been doing with the full approval of the Executive Engineer on whose responsibility the repairs take place. With regard to the removal of chuna and the collection of archæological fragments, the special grant obtained by the Curator of Monuments will nearly cover the work indicated. An

<sup>1</sup> Last year the repairs were carried out nominally under the Public Works Department; this year solely by myself.

annual allotment (of I believe some Rs. 2,000) has hitherto been given to the Public Works Department for monumental preservation. The sum allowed has been made to traverse a large number of buildings, and with very inadequate results, which is no matter of surprise when the extensive nature of the archæological remains are fully comprehended. This being the case, I made a proposal, which met with the approval of the Brigadier-General as well as of the Superintending and Executive Engineers, *viz.*, to secure first the dangerous parts of buildings and then apply the balance of the annual allotment to the thorough repair of one building at a time. To repair all the buildings with a small sum of money, simply means patchwork or a make-shift, incapable of withstanding a season's abnormal rain. This remark I make, bearing fully in mind that preservation—not restoration—is the work that ought to be held in view. Gwalior is now connected with the high road of India by rail from Agra, which is soon likely to receive an extension towards Jhansi.

The number of visitors will be yearly on the increase, and it would be a pity if architectural remains of considerable beauty and value were repaired in a manner offensive to the eye. Another remark appears to me of an equally pertinent kind and a complement to the other, *viz.*, that daily labour ought to be in invariable requisition.

Where a small sum of money is granted, it ought to be utilised to the best purpose and not disappear into the contractor's pocket.

In restricting myself to a comparatively bare recital of the work initiated here in the interests of monumental preservation, I have no intention of allowing the plan I am adopting to militate against an ulterior object I have in view, *viz.*, the compiling of a Hand-book to Gwalior.

Some such book is much to be desiderated, for General Cunningham's invaluable Archæological Report is rarely to be found in the hands of the numerous visitors to Gwalior. It was one of the first of the series, and consequently is minus the illustrations which go so far to enhance his later publications.

It has been my invaluable companion during the last four years, and, with the General's permission, I hope to adopt much of the matter contained in it as the basis of a Hand-book.

M. Rousselot's work (*The Princes of India*), thrown up in a popular form, is accepted by the general public as a trust-worthy guide; whereas the more valuable publication of General Cunningham is rarely consulted. So far as Gwalior is concerned, M. Rousselot's notice is the work of a few hours' visit and on information culled from the unreliable "Gwalior Nama;" whereas General Cunningham's is the result of a vast experience founded on long personal observation.

M. Rousselot's book demonstrates the value of sketches; but even in them it is faulty, for it is details—not general views—that are wanted. In a place like Gwalior, where vandalism did its worst—where the iron heel of successive conquerors showed little respect for art or labour, it is in isolated fragments, such as a tottering gateway, a ruined arch, a broken column, that one looks for traces of the artist's dormant cunning. A variety of these I am preparing solely at my own expense, and this may account in some measure for the delay in their preparation. Gwalior itself, *i.e.*, the city, is rapidly passing away for the Lushkur, or new town of the Mahrattas, but not so let us hope the arts which she once fostered and to which her best sovereigns extended a munificent patronage. One of them, at all events the stone carver's, is a living and indigenous art, and only requires to be directed on the old architectural lines to re-assert its pristine excellence.

The Gwalior chisel has survived the vicissitudes of time, and this despite the united efforts of the iconoclast, utilitarian and Anglo-Indian with whom a sense of the incongruous is not a virtue. It cannot be doubted that the interest awakened by monumental preservation will do much to revive the old industry by encouraging stone carvers to study the works of their fathers in preference to the ephemeral productions of the hour. A series of drawings will also go far to popularise it with the Anglo-Indian public, many of whom would otherwise feel little sympathy for works of art, although situated close to their door. While on this subject I cannot resist the pleasure of stating that the aid kindly furnished by the South Kensington Museum in some work I am preparing for them is likely to prove invaluable.

The steps that have been taken in the interests of monumental preservation are fully detailed in the body of this report; but it may be as well to summarise the state in which the monuments remained up to 1879, and the steps that have been taken to ensure for them a better protection. A mere glance at the walls of Fortress Gwalior, with its battlements and outworks crowded with the remains of destroyed shrines, will make apparent to the most superficial observer that its works of art and monuments of patient industry were subject to very rough treatment in the past.

Putting aside the inroads of time, it may be assumed that the architectural ruin which Gwalior shares with other places is mainly due in the past to vandalism, the offspring of religious fanaticism; to ignorance and want of public spirit on the part of natives themselves; and, lastly, to a want of sympathy, coupled with a spirit of insular prejudice on the part of Anglo-Indians.

In some instances I have met with an amount of puerile mischief, common indeed to animals and little children, but painful when met in grown up men. A portion of the vandalism that overtook Gwalior was to be expected, seeing the importance attached to it from the earliest times as a great stronghold of Central India. The exact proportion of destruction that can be ascribed to each iconoclast is not so easy to determine. It is believed that the Emperor Altamsh, in A.D. 1232, wrecked the Sun Temple and the Jayantithora; and it is known that the iconoclast Aurungzeb committed havoc on the Jaina sculptures of the fifteenth century. Alamgir did his work with an unparalleled amount of diligence; for, amidst hundreds of sculptures both inside and outside the Fortress, from that of the colossal Adinath in the Urwahi down to the smallest head, not one escaped mutilation. At the same time it is just to remark, that while the stamping out of idolatry seemed to be his paramount care, he was solicitous, when this was not involved, to respect artistic work common both to Hindu and Mahomedan. To this fact, coupled with a spirit of utilitarianism, is due the survival of, at all events, one beautiful temple, the Sâs Bahu.

Active destruction is unknown to the Mahrattas, but they take little interest in monuments and watch their decadence with the utmost indifference. Coming to our own times, M. Rousselot, quoted with approval by Fergusson, draws attention to the manner in which the statues of the Urwahi were uprooted wholesale in 1869, when a road was being made and clearances effected. I should discredit the statement if an American lady had not assured me that the engineer who superintended the demolitions acknowledged to her that much was done to which exception might be taken.

A Public Works subordinate, who was engaged in these demolitions, informed me that on the high ground between the Suraj Kund and Gun Park a small temple, 6 feet square, was found at a depth of 16 feet. This, it appears, was broken to pieces. I think the public have a right to complain that there was no record kept of these demolitions.

I came to the Fort early in 1879, as an officer of the garrison, and a taste for archæology leads me to make a representation regarding what I then saw. I found carvings and graceful columns lying promiscuously and uncared for about the Fort. Some had been relegated to the modern cantonment of Morar, some jammed into the wall to form an ugly repair, and I was told that several sculptures had been ground into road material. I found myself that some of them had been used as targets for private rifle practice.

Natives further related to me that only a few years ago a number of contractors were found in the act of dismantling a very

interesting and curious old building with a wagoned-roofed vault in the Gajari Mehal. Happily, they were stopped by the timely intervention of authority.

I myself can supply the most irrefragable testimony as to the depredations of contractors. Their desire to make money and save themselves trouble induces them to lay unlawful hands on every piece of dressed stone that can serve their purposes. Not long ago, among other archæological enquiries, I was anxious to note the number and genus of animal that existed in the district at an earlier period. Walking round the battlements, I found in a portion of the wall, a few elaborately carved pillars, with representations on them of the rhinoceros, horse, wild boar, &c. These I had extracted from the wall, but no sooner was my back turned for a few hours before those pillars were carted away, and this before I had time to transfer them to the museum.

Again, there was a bas-relief on the eastern ramparts showing some finely-carved animals and the representation of a male figure sitting on a charpoy under a tree. I wished to transfer this to the museum, but lately found that it had been mutilated and carted away. Everywhere I found grass and lichen and the pekul tree carrying on the work of a slow but sure destruction. Many of the buildings were also exposed to injury through the instrumentality of fires and of natives and cattle who regularly honeycombed the rooms.

General Gordon in this matter carried out a salutary reform by restricting the residences of Fort-followers and servants to the Badalgurh outwork. I must not omit stating that one artistic temple, the "Teli Mandir," was utilised as a coffee-shop, while the rooms adjacent to the artistic courts of the Man Mandir were converted into a commissariat godown.

The neglected state of these buildings being of public interest, I addressed both the Brigadier-General Commanding the Gwalior District and the public prints with the view of inviting attention to their condition. At the instance of the General I drew up a report, which he embodied as his own in reporting the matter to Government. From him I received very considerable assistance and from Colonel Hawkins, R.A., who took upon himself the responsibility of displacing the coffee-men from the "Teli Mandir." Similarly, I have to acknowledge the kindly intervention of Colonel Falconnet, R.E., the Superintending Engineer, who recommended that the commissariat vacate the Man Mandir, and that the palace be reserved as a show place. Also, let me say that without the aid of Major Crowdy, R.E., who has contributed a large share of the Fort improvements, little could have been done. In 1880 it occurred to me that an archæo-

logical museum was exactly the institution wanted to assist the work of monumental preservation.

Its establishment would intimate to the garrison and the general public that the authorities were determined on respecting those works of art which testify to the wisdom and industry of former rulers; it would, while preserving history, assist the beautiful carving which is indigenous to the district, but which a utilitarian age is liable to corrupt. Without such an institution I have no hesitation in affirming that the sculptures would daily disappear under the abominable depredations of contractors. My proposal met with a kindly response from the Brigadier-General, who assured me through his staff officer "that he adopted my proposal with warm interest."

A committee was at once formed, and it was resolved to clear away the débris that surrounded the "Telí Mandir<sup>1</sup>" and to enclose the ground about it with a stone fence. From the cantonment funds of Morar and Sepree a grant of Rs. 1,000 was obtained, and this went to the erection of a gateway which Major Crowdy, R.E., kindly constructed out of an old Jaina arch and pillars recovered by me in the Fortress; this money also assisted the prison labour, which was applied to clear the ground. All the pillars and carvings that had been diverted to Morar have been brought back, and these I have supplemented with many additional fragments that I have found in the Fort and district.

Apart from re-awakening among natives a respect and interest in their old architecture, I had in mind the ulterior project of supplementing the museum with a library and making it a place of recreation for the soldiery. During the long summer months the Fort is, more or less a prison, and the *ennui* engendered leads to drink and various other crimes. The undertaking has had to confront many obstacles. First, it required the support of the Maharajah Scindia, without whom any project in Gwalior is like the play of 'Hamlet' without 'Hamlet' himself. In this we have been disappointed; for not only has the Maharajah held aloof from the undertaking, but the 'Durbar' who promised three years ago to send the sculptures of the district to the projected museum have not contributed one. Another cause of failure lies in the fact that the general public enjoys a very limited permission to visit the Fort. This is a subject in which I have sought, and I think succeeded, in enlisting the sympathies of the Agent to the Governor General, Central India. In a museum such as I contemplated, it was

<sup>1</sup> I should have preferred the Gujari Mahal close to the Fort entrance as the most convenient and best adapted place for a museum, but the Committee overruled me.

This formed the original gateway standing on the site of the present Badalghurh erection until the Pathans superseded it with one of a horse-shoe pattern.

of the first importance to interest the native community<sup>1</sup>. The Jains, for instance, have been particularly unfortunate. To them the Urwahi outwork has always been a sacred place. When they first congregated there, it was outside the Fort, and not enclosed until the time of the Emperor Altamsh in 1232.

After this they still occupied it, and down to the period of the Indian mutiny, when they were expelled. Being a highly respectable portion of the community (the bankers of India), it may be said that the Jains have fared badly in the mutilation of their statues and in expulsion from the valley. Annually, in the month of Cuar, after their twelve days' rigorous fast, they still erect a temporary altar outside the Fort, and in face of the mystic retreat they so long occupied. I believe this matter has been represented to the Government of India, and as the Urwahi gate is about to be reopened, I hope the Jains will be able to visit the sacred spots during their annual mēla<sup>2</sup>.

A third difficulty paves the way in attempting to start a museum or any kindred institution in Gwalior, *viz.*, the three stations of Morar, Lushkur, and Gwalior, are all treated separately, with conflicting interests. The less interesting and less salubrious station of Morar commands the lion's share of attention and unjustly dwarfs the interest that belongs to Gwalior.

Lastly, an institution of the kind I seek to see established in Gwalior requires extraneous support in an exceptional degree. This remark is applicable to the whole of Central India, where the fortune of war has long supplanted the indigenous masters of the soil by conquerors alien in blood, religion, and sympathies. A Mahratta ruler at Gwalior exercises sway over the ancient remains of the Kachhwahs and Tomara Rajputs; a Mahomedan possesses the great Buddhist Stupa of Sanchi in Bhopal; and the beautiful Pathan remains of Mandoo are the property of the genial Raja of Dhar. National aspirations which induce other nations to conserve what is interesting as belonging to their predecessors are unknown to the mixed races of Hindustan; but with English example, fruitful in other matters, it is to be hoped that Natives will lay aside their prejudices, and, while honouring art and industry, cherish a common inheritance. Signs are not wanting to show that they are impressed at the spectacle of

<sup>1</sup> The question is no doubt one of difficulty, and after the disturbances of the Sarogis at Delhi and Bulandshahr, their best friends can understand the hesitation of Government. Still they are a very deserving class, and like the Buddhists have been persecuted by the Brahmins.

<sup>2</sup> Government have now modified the existing prohibition, and Natives will obtain every facility to visit the Fort.

a Christian power tending the creations of their forefathers, which are not only landmarks of history, but the only record showing the belief, manners, and customs of a bye-gone age. A European lead is necessary, but it is not to be found in Gwalior, where society is composed of a few military residents and their families subject to the daily caprice of military service. This circumstance may excuse me for having recently made an appeal to the general public. My wish may be Utopian, but I should like to see the Fort divested of its ultramilitary character and converted into a rallying point for the more enduring records of peace. A few observations, on what I think should be the scope of local museums, may appropriately conclude these prefatory remarks. Their establishment should be for the convenience of the Indian artisan and the general public. What is most desiderated is advertisement and patronage. The Art collector is frequently interrogated—where did you get this? Can you procure me the same? And this because the old Indian craftsman is too poor to advertise his wares. With the decline of Native Courts, and the introduction of free trade, times have pressed heavily upon him. A quiet industrious race of men who will toil the long summer day for a small remuneration, the artisan class, are heartily deserving of help. It is hard that the more enterprising European should appropriate their designs and pawn upon the public articles which poorly represent the lavish patience and industry of Indian workmen. Without trenching on condemned principles, I feel assured that local museums, in assisting the cause of advertisement and patronage, would render essential service. I saw two men working at Gwalior, the one at iron engraving and the other in copper, and in a way that would gratify the most fastidious taste. They were both in the last stage of destitution. I secured the last effort of one of them, a richly embossed basket hilt like that of a Highland claymore. Shortly afterwards the maker died, and possibly with him a knowledge of his unique handicraft passed away. Here was an instance illustrating the danger of starving a purely traditional art. The instances cited are not isolated ones, but typical of the distress that exists among the old Indian craftsmen. They would not have occurred if the men's wares had been properly advertised. Let then each local museum be a register house where the names of workmen, their addresses, specialities, and the prices of their work could be known. By this means purity of design would be secured and the public protected against exorbitant charges. If I am not mistaken, Mr. Buck, of the Department of Agriculture and Revenue, has suggested that continental

*Note.*—I have prepared a number of sketches illustrating Gwalior and its beautiful architecture in detail. This I am obliged to reserve for a guide-book.

museums should be supplied with duplicates of exhibits in the local museum.

These, again, in turn may be called upon to reciprocate, and in this way the craving of the Native public for articles of European manufacture might be assisted and improved. It is quite natural that they should admire the productions of Europe so long as they are adapted to general usage and have nothing incongruous about them. This is a point that the lamented Sir Salar Jung indicated when the Simla Exhibition Committee objected to receive articles that were not on the true lines of Oriental design. The adoption of hundreds of useful articles of manufacture is one thing while the adaptation of incongruous styles of architecture, construction, ornament, &c., where climatic and æsthetic conditions forbid them, is another affair. The museum should fulfil the duties of an agency where, if articles could not be purchased on the premises, all necessary information could be obtained with the view of procuring them. A show-room ought to be an integral portion of each museum, in order that Europeans may be taught the extent to which Indian Art and manufacture may be adapted—and cheaply—for the purposes of furnishing, house decoration, &c. Next, the museum ought to be an educator of the people, and contain all the best samples in farm implements, produce, minerals, &c., the country can produce. Again, the excellent work executed at the Industrial Schools of Delhi by the Mahomedan girls under the Reverend Mr. Winter only requires reciprocal local museums to advertise the same. Lastly, the museum ought to be a place of recreation for the poorer classes of India, all of whom delight in pleasure resorts. Advertisement secured, patronage will soon follow. Then if the official class in their public and private capacity will only patronise Indian forms of art and manufacture, Rajas will follow suit, the masses will again become leavened with a taste for the beautiful which pervades their land, and a complete revival will follow.

SANCHI,

*The 28th February 1883.*

## G WALIOR.

Gwalior, with its great fortress, is distant from Agra a railway's journey of  $77\frac{1}{4}$  miles. It is bounded on the North and North-West by the Chambal, and on the South and South-East by the Sindh river, both tributaries of the Jumna. The country through which the Chambal flows, and over which a magnificent railway bridge has been thrown, carries with it anything but a cheerful aspect, for grass and copsewood rarely refresh the eye. It has a wild and arid look about it, while the sparsely dotted population have an uncouth and forbidding gait. Save an adventurous traveller like William Finch in olden days, as now the chief frequenter of the road was the soldiery attracted to Gwalior by the great fortress which enjoys an unsurpassed military position. Now and again the babul, nim, and tamarind trees are to be found; but the general appearance of the country may be described as stony and sterile. It is not improbable, however, that there were large primeval forests destroyed by the first Mahomedans. The quantity not merely of iron ore, but of wrought iron, which I have traced in Gwalior, presupposes that there was an abundance of fuel to smelt the same. I have not seen the recent census papers, but an approximation would give the population as 75.48 human beings per mille. They are located in miserable-looking hamlets, are physically feeble and impoverished, and constitute the best evidence that this country has been long outside the pale of civilisation. It is surprising that a country so often exposed to war, and which must have been traversed by siege trains, should be so destitute of good roads. It is deficient in this respect as well as in many others, so that no surprise may be awakened when I state that imports or exports known as such, in a word commerce, is unknown. With property and life not always secure, with bad bungalows, it is a matter of no astonishment that Gwalior should have been relegated to obscurity, and that architectural remains of considerable value should have escaped attention. The railway, it is to be hoped, will rectify a great deal, and the difficulties that have hitherto existed in getting the ruler to see the advantage of recuperative works will, no doubt, be surmounted in the importation of private enterprise and encouragement to private capital. Bleak and desolate as the country is to within a few miles of Gwalior, it improves as the latter comes in sight, becoming more or less undulating with hillock succeeding hillock, and here and there a sheet of water like the Moti Jheel which lies to the north-west of the fortress. The citadel, each salient feature of which can be taken in by the travel-

ler as the train slackens its speed, occupies a long strip of ground 2 miles in length, from 274 to 300 feet in height, with a varying breadth from 600 to 2,800 feet, and constitutes with the city a most picturesque sight. The whole may be taken in as a panoramic view. First, the western side of the fort, with its various outworks and gateways, confronts the eye, and this with Hanuman's hill running parallel, encloses a piece of ground on which are situated General Jacob's house, the Gird Subah's kachery, and Scindia's new jail. Immediately underneath Hanuman's hill there is a road, which conducts the traveller to the Lushkur. From here the Dhoonda, or chief entrance to the fort on its western side, may be observed with its various intermediate gateways. Beyond this are the Urwahi and Garh Garj entrances, the one celebrated as a secluded spot where the mystic Jains carved out their retreats for meditation and worship, and both known as weak points in the fortress defence, and where the most popular attacks were made. Local tradition has it, that this was the most populous portion of the city, and suggests the probability that if there are any ancient remains, they will be found in this quarter. The fort on this side is less precipitous, and to this circumstance, together with exposure to the south-west monsoon, may be attributed the total disappearance of the western frontages of the different palaces. One or two very archaic-looking wells are to be encountered on this side. The practice of choosing old sites exemplified in the customs of the Jains who seize upon the old foundations of the Buddhists, and of the Mahomedans who occupy the sites of both, finds illustration in the recent erection of a modern temple to Mahadeo. This is close to the Dhoonda gate, and looms over the landscape in white-washed ugliness.

Underneath a Pathan arch, and skirting the northern end of the town, is the Delhi gate, which was the chief entrance to the city during the rule of the Moghul emperors. The neighbourhood is crowded with Mahomedan dead, and with several gates, and one burial ground possessing much artistic merit<sup>1</sup>. Looking towards the extreme point of the fort at this end is the site of the old Jayanti-thora temple, destroyed by Altamash in A.D. 1232. To the east of this, and overlooking the battlements, may be seen the Maharajah Scindia's brick-coloured flag, the only one that is hoisted in the fort, and which intimates that the stronghold is held for him. At the commencement of each 'Dassera' the flag is annually replaced amidst the beating of drums and with the sacrifice of a goat. Further to the east stands Shajehan's palace, and between it and the flag underneath the ramparts are a series of jaina caves. Below them, again, is the Gujar

<sup>1</sup> Nawab Khandowla Khan.

Mahal, and outside it is the "Jamai Masjid," whose marble minarets can be discerned from the railway. As the eastern side of the fortress comes in sight, the view becomes more and more picturesque,—gateway and porch, tower and turret, palace and temple, occupying each salient feature and dividing the long line of battlements. The fragments of no less than four palaces are distinguishable on the north-eastern end, conspicuous among which is that of Raja Man, as much admired for its noble position as its incomparable taste.

Towards the centre of the fort on this eastern face are the Sâs Bahu temples, with their open-pillared porticoes and quaint pyramid roofs. Further to the south stands a ruined Jain shrine dedicated to Parasnath, while over all the other buildings towers the massive form of the "Teli Mandir," a noble Brahmanical building of the tenth century, which stands like a piece of iron-bound rock lashed by the sea and proudly defiant of time and weather.

The Gwalior of to-day is divided into two distinct cities, one of which is represented by the old town and fort, the other by the Lushkur, or it may be termed new Gwalior, a city founded by the Mahrattas, and situated at the extreme southern end of the fort.

In choosing the Lushkur as their city, it is to be regretted that the Mahrattas should thus have abandoned old Gwalior. Other conquerors, including the Pathans and Moghuls, were content to observe a certain continuity, and to conduct themselves as if born to the inheritance of the Rajputs. They intermixed with the people, conserved in many instances what they found standing, and added works of their own. The opposite is the case of the Mahrattas, who are a distinctly foreign element, never intermarrying except with their own Deccany people, and anxious to efface the memory of a former raj, instead of sharing its traditions.

Both physically and intellectually they are an energetic race of men, as much superior to other Hindus in this respect as Mahomedans are to Hindus in general. Their proclivities, however, are purely military<sup>1</sup>.

Neither in their collective nor individual capacity do they evince a predilection for those pursuits and industrial occupations which, contributing to material prosperity, give a tone to manners and refine life. A few of the better classes are well-educated, but the greater majority of the population are ignorant in the extreme.

The Lushkur was built on the site of Daulat Rao Scindia's camp, after he captured Gwalior in A.D. 1789. Here the present head of

<sup>1</sup> It is curious to observe that the activity which distinguishes the Mahrattas in their own Deccany country, *i.e.*, in the race of progress, finds little echo in Gwalior.

Several of the Mahratta Sirdars are cultivated genial gentlemen, but from some dislike, voluntary or enforced, they rarely seek intercourse with Europeans.

the Mahrattas resides, and the affairs of his large principality are conducted. The city of Gwalior seems to have been somewhat migratory in its habits, at one time establishing itself on the western side, and then, on the advent of the Pathans, moving towards the neighbourhood of a mahalla, known as Noor Gunj, on the east. When the Moghul emperors succeeded the Pathans, the most popular quarter of the town was north of the Delhi Gate and Saugor Talao. This is also the Gwalior of to-day, the Lushkur being a separate town. It forms a sort of arc round the northern extremity of the fort, and is made up of a number of flat-topped houses, many of which present the appearance of precipitated ruin. The Gwalior of the Hindus seems to have perished, and the present town does not seem to go further back than the time of the first Mahomedans. Nearly all the mahallas bear Mahomedan names, and a considerable section of the present population, which numbers 20,000, is Mahomedan. One caste, known as the 'Mewati,' who live near the Delhi Gate, were converted to the faith of Islam by the bigoted Aurungzeb. They still adhere to their adopted faith in all matters, with the exception of purdah and the curious custom of securing the services of both Brahmanical priest and moulvie at their weddings, &c.; a custom which finds an echo in the mixed marriages of Catholics and Protestants. Owing to the removal of British cantonments to Morar and the departure of all the wealthy Seths and Mahomedans to the Lushkur, the work of disintegration is fast being accomplished. It only wants a few seasons of abnormal rain and the ruin is completed. There is scarcely one continuous thoroughfare owing to the falling in of houses and the blocking up of lateral approaches. The principal street, judging from the remains of several fine gateways, including the 'Alamgir' and Hatthi 'Pol,' was the one which commences at the Delhi Gate, passes the Jamai Masjid, old kachery, and proceeds under the eastern battlements towards the Lushkur. On the banks of the Subhanrikh, a rivulet that runs in the same direction as this road, there is the mahalla of Ghaus Paur, where the stone-masons congregate—perhaps the only class in Gwalior that do not seem affected by poverty.

Many of the houses in old Gwalior are of a very substantial kind, and composed of the usual courts and arcaded dalans, but desertion and the effects of grass and lichen are doing the work of more active destruction. The tenants of these houses are the poorest of the poor, chiefly servants or coolies, dependent for a small subsistence on the British works in the fort. A more squalid or impoverished population I have never met; their physical condition being but a reflex of the town they inhabit. Many men, willing and anxious to work, can obtain no employment, and this is owing to the absence of public works, to

the want of trade, and the little encouragement given to arts and industries. Even small industries and menial occupations are not within reach of these poor people, for the foreign element absorbs whatever benefit is procurable<sup>1</sup>.

From old Gwalior Lushkur which is fast passing away, it is necessary to look at the Lushkur which seeks to incorporate all the life and enterprise of new Gwalior. It is a large city, numbering a population of 100,000, out of which 15,000 are Mahrattas, the remainder consisting of indigenous inhabitants, with a considerable sprinkling of a heterogenous class gathered from all parts of the country. In some respects it resembles Jeypore, for it has wide streets, spacious bazars, and a certain veneer of smartness. Like it there is provision only for the passing decade, and the beautiful frontages of screen work do not hide the fact that the walls are thin and the buildings of an unsubstantial kind. Taken separately, there is not a single structure that will go down to posterity, for here, as elsewhere, the utilitarian exigencies of the hour exclude anything in the shape of stately edifices. The works in the Fort, which casts its shadow over the Lushkur were erected on the principle that "Rome was never built in a day;" but modern Gwalior, with its fresh bazaars shooting up in all directions, illustrates the determination to provide only for the passing decade. The Mahrattas, as already stated, have raised no monuments, and one looks in vain for a palace, temple, town-hall, college, hospital, alms-house, market-place, aqueduct, which would have given play to the old fame of the Gwalior builders and shed lustre on Mahratta rule. There are no such places.

The Serafa is a fine, wide street, not unlike the Delhi Chandni Chowk, but is the only one that has any pretensions. Most of the houses are disfigured with Italian balustrades, finials, &c.; and this is a place where there are the most exquisite patterns of native work. The only buildings of any note are the Maharajah's palaces in the Phul Bagh and the Chattries<sup>2</sup> of the Scindias.

Of the palaces, the "Jai Indar Bhawan" does much honour to the artistic taste of Sir Michael Filose, the architect. With the exception of the southern face, where there is a magnificent Durbar room, said to be a copy of one of the Doge's palaces at Venice, the ground plan corresponds to that of an ordinary native building. The merit of the Jai Indar Bhawan lies in a most artistically conceived court, the sides

<sup>1</sup> These people deserve every commiseration, for between their own case and that of the aborigines of other countries who have been driven into the backwoods by force of superiority of race there is no analogy.

<sup>2</sup> At my suggestion the Chattries have been released from the coats of white-wash which are the invariable accompaniment of the Dewali.

of which are covered with beautiful lattice work; its démerit lies in the union of Italian and Indian ornament, with a most liberal coating of white-wash. The 'Moti Mahal,' which is a copy of the Peishwa's palace at Punah, is in every way disappointing and typical of debased native architecture. But for the fact that the old buildings of the fort have long been held at a discount, it might have been worthy of an artist's powers if he had tried to reproduce the fine quadrangle known as the Gujar Mahal inside the fortress.

As specimens of good carving, the Chattries of the Scindias, situated at the north-west corner of the Lushkur, are the only solid pieces of workmanship to be found in new Gwalior.

They are handsome buildings, raised on richly-carved plinths similar to those of the Sâs Bahu and the temples at Amber. Owing to want of facilities, I am unable to give measurements, or furnish an architectural description of these places for cremation. A large number of Brahmins are fed daily within the enclosure, and on Krishna's festivals the scenes of his pastoral life are depicted with much elaboration in an adjoining house. Daily, inside the Chattries, a somewhat ludicrous representation takes place, *i.e.*, all the habits, customs, and daily occupations of the departed Scindias are gone through as in the same when in life. Attendants make obeisance to these statues, address them as if they were talking to living beings, and make provision for what used to be their hourly wants.

I have not seen the Jains' temple at the south end of the Serafa, but believe it to be a very sumptuous erection. From what I have been told it is not unlike other buildings of the sect to be found at Delhi and Khurga, in the Bulandshahr Zila, both of which I have seen. If so, it must be very fine, for these temples, particularly the one at Delhi with its rich dome, marble sanctuary and tabernacle, replete with lavish ornamentation, maintain the Jains' claim to be the great temple builders of India. A few bunniahs in Morar, a simple military cantonment, are at present engaged in erecting a temple which, while it does credit to their taste, evincès an amount of public spirit that is rarely found in other religious sects<sup>1</sup>. The resemblance that exists between Jeypore and Lushkur goes no further than the appearance of the town, for in all other items the one place is the antipodes of the other. Jeypore is the centre of much activity and

<sup>1</sup> The enterprising spirit of the Bunniahs has been eclipsed by the troopers of the 14th Bengal Lancers, a soldierly, well behaved set of Jats who are engaged at their own expense in raising a very creditable temple adjacent to their lines. Both Bunniahs and Jats set an example which our own countrymen might follow. Unfortunately prejudice is too strong or Indian architecture might well supersede the incongruous Anglo-Indian models too often to be found in cantonments.

prosperity ; its sanitary arrangements, gas and water-supply, are well known.

Lushkur may have a better water-supply than Jeypore, but the public owe this to the forethought of a former Raja and to natural facilities. The difficulties that the late Maharajah of Jeypore had to encounter in introducing a water-supply only enhance his priceless gift. Jeypore, again, has a thriving trade, manufactures textile fabrics, and boasts of considerable prosperity. It has her art schools, her museums, libraries, and public parks. Gwalior is wholly deficient in all these matters.

But it must be here remembered that Gwalior was, until the other day, geographically isolated from the Indian high road. With the railway at her door, things must improve. Some more particulars are necessary with regard to the Lushkur, but these may be more appropriately introduced at the close of this chapter.

It is time that I gave a précis of Gwalior's history ; and as the history of the Fort is the history of Gwalior, I will revert to the great citadel. Discarding the fabulous dates of the Gwalior nama, and adopting the more sober mean of General Cunningham, A.D. 275 may be assumed as the date of the foundation of Gwalior. No Buddhist remains have been found in the fort or city, and Gwalior is not mentioned by either Fa Hian or Hwen Thsang. The disciples of Sakya Muni were in Jeypore, and the families of both Gwalior and Jeypore had a parent stem ; still in the absence of any rock-cut tablets or inscriptions, it must be taken for granted that Buddhism had no existence in the place. Day after day fragmentary sculptures are being unearthed, but by far the greater number of them belong to the Brahmanical faith and are representations of Mahadeo and Parvati. With regard to the Jains, their history in Gwalior is still to be evolved. I have noticed many tablets with obliterated inscriptions on both sides of the rock which might give them an earlier history (if not illegible) than the one on record. As a proof that there is nothing very ancient in Gwalior, General Cunningham quotes the silence of the geographer Ptolemy. Briefly stated, a family called the Kachhwah reigned in Jeypore from A.D. 275 to 1129, a period of 854 years, commencing with Suraj Pal and ending with Tej Karn. Tej Karn was succeeded by his nephew Parmal Deo, who founded a dynasty of Parihârs that lasted for 103 years, closing in the person of Sarang Dyo, who was killed at the capture of the fort by Altamsh in A.D. 1232. After this Gwalior remained in the hands of the Pathans for a period of 143 years, when it passed in A.D. 1375 to the Tomara dynasty in the person of Bir Sinh Deo, a zemindar of Dandaroli.

Among the members of this family was Dungar Sinh, in whose

lifetime the gigantic sculptures were excavated; next comes Raja Man Singh, reputed to be the wisest of the Gwalior sovereigns; (he reigned for a period of 30 years, *viz.*, A.D. 1486 to 1516), and then his son Vikramajit, who fell at the battle of Paniput in 1526. During this time the fort was besieged by Hushang Shah of Malwa in A.D. 1424, in 1486 by Bahol Ludi, in 1501 and 1505 by Sikander Ludi, and in 1516 by Ibrahim Ludi. From A.D. 1526 until 1750, with the exception of a short interval, the fortress remained in the hands of the Moghul emperors. Both the emperors, Baber and Humayun, visited it, and the existence of a Shajehan and Jehangir palace points to the occasional residence in Gwalior of the emperors bearing these names.

When the Moghul empire fell to pieces, the Rana of Gohad occupied the fort for a short time, but had to relinquish it to Daulat Rao Scindia, who captured the place in 1784.

It was again taken by Generals Popham and White in 1789 and 1805, but soon after this finally secured by treaty to the head of the great Mahratta family.

Since the mutiny of the Gwalior contingent in 1857, it has been occupied for the Maharajah by a British garrison consisting of a battery of artillery, three companies of a European regiment, and one company of a Native regiment.

The name of Scindia being better known than the vast principality which he rules, a territory which brings an annual revenue of Rs. 1,00,56,718, it may not be out of place to give a few particulars regarding himself and his Government.

His Highness Jaijaj Scindia, who is in his 48th year, is a prince of much general and personal distinction. More than once his fortunes have been the object of the utmost solicitude to the British Government. In December 1843, two battles, *viz.*, Mahrajpore and Punniar, were fought to protect him from his subjects; and in 1857 he shared the anxiety of the British Government during the dark days of the mutiny.

To the honours of the King of Delhi he has had conferred upon him the distinction of the G.C.B., and that of a General in the British Army. His Highness married the daughter of Bapu Sahib Jadaw, a Mahratta Sirdar, and has an heir.

The Government of the Maharajah is strictly personal rule. He may be assisted in it by a Dewan and a number of Naib Dewans who are again assisted by Subahs; but the moving power is the Maharajah himself, whose pleasure is taken upon everything down to the smallest appointment. In business matters he has the reputation of bringing to their transaction much intelligence, and those who have come in contact with him testify to his personal courtesy.

For some years he has seldom left Gwalior, and when he does it is

generally for the purposes of religious duties at Muttra. His habits are becoming every year more and more secluded, and the annual ceremonies of the Holi and Dassera are circumscribed. It used to be his wont to give entertainments to Europeans, but these have been almost entirely discontinued.

Like most Mahrattas His Highness' sympathies are military, and he has the reputation of moving his troops with much judgment and ability, adopting the words of command to be met with in the English drill book.

His army consists of—

Artillery 48 guns, with 480 gunners.

Infantry 5,000 men.

Cavalry 6,000 men.

A considerable number of this force are mercenaries and brought from all parts of the country. In affairs of religion the Maharajah is said to pay much attention to the Brahmins; but this does not interfere with the feelings of complete toleration he extends to other faiths.

He not only witnesses the Mahomedan festivals, but some years ago when a member of the Filose family was married, he was seen sitting inside the sanctuary of a Catholic chapel. At one time there were a number of Europeans in the service of the Scindias, but now they are restricted to the members of the Filose family, who enjoy the confidence of the great Mahratta Chief.

The great drawback to Gwalior is its scattered position, a number of conflicting interests, and in one sense a dual government. It is totally different to other concentrated places like Jeypore, where there is no difficulty in starting institutions or initiating projects for the common welfare. The markets are bad and ill-stocked, and all the conveniences of life are both scarce and dear. In the fort, which enjoys a comparatively high elevation and is not enclosed by a forest of trees, the climate is salubrious all the year round; epidemics are rare, and there has been little or no enteric fever.

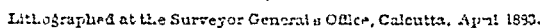
The water-supply is both abundant and excellent, and if it could be made a little more available, *i.e.*, if it could be pumped up from the Urwahi instead of being conveyed by bheesties, an inestimable boon would be conferred on the fortress.

#### MONUMENTS.

The existing monuments of Gwalior include the remains of six palaces, five temples, five groups of Jaina caves, and a number of tanks, cisterns, baories and wells, all situated in the fortress. To these are to be added a masjid and several tombs in the city.



## HINDU PALACES.



## PALACES.

Commencing with the palaces, the first in the order of excellence and the only one that has any relation to monumental preservation is—

(1) *The Man Mandir.*

This noble building which illustrates the princely tastes of Raja Man Singh, one of the most enlightened of Hindu sovereigns, was erected during his long and prosperous reign, which extended from A.D. 1486 to 1516. It has been described by Mr. Fergusson "as the most historically interesting of the Central Indian palaces," and by General Cunningham "as one of the finest pieces of architecture in Northern India." It rivets the attention of the visitor long before he reaches the fort, and after having entered the Badalghurh gate of the fortress, it constitutes, with the various other gateways, charming vistas that pre-occupy the eye of the visitor while making the eastern ascent. One of these gateways, the Bhairon, has disappeared; but why it has been cleared away, I am unable to say. Near it I have met with one or two archaic-looking pillars, far more ancient than any I have seen in other portions of the fortress. The capitals are not unlike those of the Asoka period, and prove beyond dispute that this was a popular approach to the upper-part of the fort from very early times. Having passed the Lukshman gate and the Chaturbhuj rock temple which is close to it, a walk of a few hundred yards brings us to the 'Hathiya Paur,' or principal gateway of the fort; it is also a portion of the 'Man Mandir.' The manliness of Pathan architecture, as contrasted with Moghul, the superiority that a grand feudal keep has over a town house, represents to many the superiority of Raja Man's Palace over other creations. In its position and conception—in its durability and strength—in its general artistic lineaments, we see the impress of a strong individuality that stamped itself on everything Raja Man did. A study of its ornament, and the variety of its details, reveal the same eclectic spirit that characterised the buildings of Akbar.

Justly famed for his administration which gave peace and plenty, Raja Man is remembered chiefly for the munificent patronage which he extended to the arts, well illustrated by this beautiful palace. Until I made repeated representations in 1879, there was no attempt made to retard, decay, or to rescue the work of Raja Man from unmerited oblivion. The eastern façade of the Man Mandir is 300 feet in length, with a height of 100 feet, and was once a mass of architectural and

coloured ornament from base to summit. Even in its ruined state, its fine projecting towers, open pillared central balconies and arrow-headed cresting make up a most unique pile. Situated at a height of 300 feet above the level below on the rugged rock, its pinnacles standing out against the sky, every artistic detail throwing others into relief, the entire frontage one mass of colour, and the domes crowned with golden spires, the general effect must have been very fine. Most of the tiles and mouldings, together with much of the lattice work enclosures that surrounded the double-storied balconies, have disappeared; but enough is left to give a fair idea of the building when in its integrity. Two passages, one on the upper and another on the second storey, run parallel with the entire length of the eastern façade; from the passage on the second storey a number of staircases communicate with the interior and courts.

Light seems to have been admitted in very small quantities, and this through the medium of small circles in the shape of moons, crescents not larger than the port-holes of a ship<sup>1</sup>. These are generally covered with diapered patterns of screen work, and the windows are enclosed with graceful pilasters, on the top of which is the well-known wavy or jointed Jaina arch<sup>2</sup>.

The Hathiya Paur, or chief entrance, is a very bold and striking gateway, somewhat hid by the parapet erected for the convenience of the sepoy guard, and close beside which there are the remains of a small soldiers' mosque.

The gateway is made up of four handsome pillars, on which rests a fine dome. It has a massive bracket arch with rich corbels. Outside this in full relief are two semi-circles of garlands, which makes the arch appear like a round one instead of being, as it is, of bracket shape. Flanking the arch are two emptied niches, which formerly contained lions or tigers, and these niches are again flanked by circular pilasters. Above the arch is a ridge of brackets, which supported the large sculptured elephant referred to by General Cunningham.

Recessed from this is a large window, in the shape of half an octagon, and divided into panels for screen-work. From this ladies

<sup>1</sup> Each exterior window communicates across the passage with its Jawab, so that the admission of light through a double corridor of screen work, so much admired in Moslem tombs, is probably after all a device borrowed from the Hindus.

In Gwalior there is a considerable variety of windows. Some take the form of the old horse-shoe pattern, seen on the Chaitya Halls of the Buddhists; others take the form of stars, combination of stars; some represent half of a window not unlike the "St. Catherine's Wheel" in Gothic architecture; while others are almost Elizabethan in their style. An example of this is seen on the southern frontage of the Gujar Mahal.

<sup>2</sup> This is the angular street referred to by Mr. Fergusson as seen at Mount Aboo.

had a view of the processions entering and quitting the fortress. Flanking the gateway itself are two handsome projecting towers, surmounted by domes resting on fine clustered mediæval pillars. The pillars were enclosed by lattice-work. It is to be regretted that the towers are somewhat outside their perpendicular, as they are exceptional not only for their handsome appearance, but as retaining more patterns of the tile work than are to be found on other portions of the palace. Entering the gateway the interior of the dome is covered with frescoes painted in black and white, and on a coating of plaster  $\frac{3}{4}$  inches in thickness. It is observable that the pillars of this gateway are very similar to those of the Lukshman and Dhoonda gates, as well as those which are to be found inside the "Teli Mandir." Opposite the southern frontage we are abreast of a façade, the ornamentation of which is even more picturesque than that on the eastern face. It is only 160 feet in length, but its details are far more diversified, and a greater quantity of tile-work is left, and this is due probably to the sheltered position of the façade.

Starting at the base, there is a very fine band, which must have been on blue ground, representing crocodiles with their tails tied to each other, and between their heads the lotus appropriate to aquatic denizens. Higher up there is a line of ducks, and the peculiar balustrade which crowns the façade is divided into panels, with elephants, tigers, panthers, and plantain leaves intertwined in the screen-work.

Between the larger towers are smaller ones, some circular and others square, with beautiful eaves and brackets, their domes rising in pyramid form. These have representations of men holding chowries, and all in the same charming tile-work. With these details are a variety of mouldings consisting of lines of indentations, small eaves on little brackets, together with a quantity of fluted and beaded-work. The same artistic coping that surmounts the eastern façade ornaments this southern face. A high wall, which I have cleared away, formerly obscured the view of this palace, and so little was it cared for, that ugly abutments in the shape of accommodation for bunniahs formed excrescences all over the face, while the peepul tree threw its destructive seeds into the gateway. Not a stone of the western frontage is left standing; and as this is the case with the Mahomedan palaces, it may be inferred that the majority of attacks on the fortress were made on this side. Of the main court, where the followers and attendants assembled, and where the servants resided, only a few staircases and skeleton walls remain. In all probability this façade had a grand or principal entrance, while the large court was covered with pavilions.

To the good taste of the Mahomedans, as much as anything else, we owe the preservation of the royal apartments where Raja Man Sinh and his family resided. When removing the accumulations of white-wash from the second court, I was struck with one thoroughly Dravidian bracket, and thought it strange that the other brackets on the same side should be different. On examination I found that the brackets with the aid of chuna had been made to assume an entirely different shape, and purposely hid the horn-headed demon in order to avoid treading on Mussulman susceptibilities. But this is pardonable, seeing that the Mahomedans utilised it as a dwelling and did not turn the place into a commissariat godown. The interest of the 'Man Mandir' centres in two artistic courts with side rooms. They are approached from a long dismantled corridor which had its approach not far from the 'Howa Paur.'

Advancing a few paces up this corridor, and on turning to the right, we enter a quaint room, 34' x 16', with a height of 16 feet, and covered by a curious pitch-roof which rests on a still more curious pailing of perforated screen-work representing men either in the attitude of fighting or playing some curious game.

The roof itself is supported by a colonnade of 16 beautiful pillars, the capitals of which are covered with mouldings and spread out like a fan. Over the colonnade is a balcony with sloping balustrade where the Raja and his Queen used to sit. A fine piece of screen-work, almost as fine as lace, drops from the cornice like a curtain, and a fold of the same pattern is thrown over the balustrade. Between the four fan-like pillars which face the court, there are rich bracket arches, and between them again is exquisite fret-work with an arrow-headed ornamentation.

At each side of the colonnade are large panels covered with geometrical work. The court is 33' x 33', and its sides are remarkable for their separate ornamentation. On the western side the wall is covered with floral patterns of tile-work, twisted scrolls, indented mouldings, and with handsome eaves. On four stout piers at intervals of 4 feet, rest handsome arches, forming the chief entrance to the western room, while two small side doors with gable tops communicate with the passage that goes round the room.

The carving on the stout piers which have recessed projections is of a very elaborate kind, the outer projection of half a foot having a flat surface covered with the most beautiful geometrical circles. The recessed borders have lines of garlands. Over the piers is a sort of false capital, square in form, with the same recessed projections, and ornamented with a quantity of foliated work. Over this,

again, are large circular bosses in the shape of lotus leaf. Between the piers are arcs, enclosing rare pieces of screen-work, and in the lattice-work of the spandrils are elephants with their fore-feet raised. A ridge of bell tassels extends over the face under the eaves. Carrying out the Grecian idea, that "where man did not see, God saw," the under-surface of the eaves is rich in ornamentation. The western room itself is  $33' \times 20\frac{1}{2}'$ , and has a bell cornice made up of numerous mouldings, chief of which is the ever-recurring lotus leaf and garland string. Perhaps the mouldings are a few too many for the size of the room. A flat roof covers the room, and the walls are bespread with fret-work in circles and diamonds about 2 inches in size, which were the receptacles for tiled work. Remarkable alike for its construction and ornamentation is the southern room. Its arcaded entrances are devoid of the intricate carving that distinguishes the western face, but its massive corbels and Dravidian brackets, so uncommon in Northern India, give it a peculiar interest of its own. It has been suggested that Raja Man Sinh had, among his numerous consorts, a Dravidian queen. As a rule, the arts and industries of Gwalior have nothing Dravidian about them, although the upper portion of the 'Teli Mandir,' hereafter to be described, betrays an unquestionably southern origin. General Cunningham thus describes the construction of the southern room outer court, 'Man Mandir':—"The section of this roof forms three sides of an octagon, each side being made of a single stone. It is therefore a flat-topped arch formed of one horizontal and two sloping stones. One of these arches is placed as a rib over each pair of pillars of the open hall, and the intervening spaces are covered by large flat slabs resting on the ribs." There is a fine cornice, and the sides of the room have an ornamentation like the scales of a fish. At the east and west sides of the room are doorways flanked by circular pilasters and covered with an amount of intricate raised carving, which must have had an excellent effect when they were covered with tiles. Close to the top of the pilasters springs an arch rivetted to them by the usual crocodiles' heads, which is a great favourite with the Jains in their caves.

This western room communicates with another small room situated at the south-west corner, which has a roof composed of saracenic arches. Very little ornamentation remains on the western face. It has, however, a number of ingenious peacock brackets, which require to be seen sideways to be observed. The upper portion of this face conceals a passage where the ladies of the court used to take exercise.

It is impossible to convey an adequate idea of the artistic nature of this court without illustrations. Similarly, it is impossible to

conceive the neglected state in which this court lay, until I secured the intervention of Colonel Falconnet, R.E., in 1880. Its colonnade was blockaded and disfigured by ugly masonry. English doors closed its arcaded entrances, while the combined effects of grass and lichen, together with the filthage caused by native servants and cattle occupying it as a place of a residence, caused it serious injury. Thanks to the sympathetic action of Colonel Falconnet, R.E., and the efforts of Major Crowdy, R.E., every endeavour has been made to put the court in proper order. In answer to my representation, Colonel Falconnet, R.E., issued a remonstrance, and pointed out that the palace should be reserved as a show place. I am aware that Major Tomkyns, R.E., opened out several rooms, but the renovations that have taken place are due to the sympathetic action of Major Crowdy, R.E., who has testified the greatest regard and care for the place. The rooms have been opened up, the masonry additions have been removed, portions of carved wall that were displaced, in order to subserve the convenience of a commissariat godown, have been put back in their places, and, where compatible with strict preservation as opposed to restoration, broken pieces of carved work have been repaired. Instead of adding a fresh coat of white-wash, I have had courts and rooms thoroughly cleansed of former accumulations, so that the artistic sympathies of Raja Man Singh are no longer relegated to oblivion. All the floors have been paved. The inner or larger court, which is 37 feet square, is approached by a small passage which leads out of the south-east corner of smaller court.

Adjacent to the larger court there are only two small rooms, the domestic apartments being sacrificed for space to sit out in the open. The north and south faces have no rooms, and in their places are substituted two storeys of screen-work, the upper portion being filled with panels 3' 8"  $\times$  3' 8", and the lower 3' 8"  $\times$  1'; between the screen-work are raised geometrical circles for tiles. The ornamentation of this court is wholly different from the other, but not one whit less artistic. Its chief detail is a row of bold corrugated eaves. This work was once common enough to the Gwalior temples, such as the larger Sâs Bahu, Mata Devi, and temple to Parasnath near the Gangolao Tal, but is now only to be met with on the inner court of 'Man Mandir.' On the western face the corbelled doorways with their borders and strings of large beads are very elegant.

This side has a small room, 15'  $\times$  12', with a fine indented cornice and flat roof, with beams so arranged as to admit of recessed panels. Over the arcaded entrance is a fine four-pillared balcony made up of clustered pillars, whose capitals are covered with raised festoons of flowers.

Supporting the eaves is a line of brackets in the shape of horned demons, which give a Dravidian character to both courts.

The opposite or eastern face is not, perhaps, so rich in scrolls and borders as the western, but it shelters two rooms far the most artistic in the palace. I scarcely think that General Cunningham has seen these rooms; or if he has, it was when they were coated over with accumulations of Mahomedan chuna and Anglo-Indian white-wash. It is only the other day I recovered them from the Commissariat Department, who used them as a godown. These rooms are very small, 20'  $\times$  20' and 18'  $\times$  9'; the first has its sides in the shape of a 'bara durrie,' two of them being open, *viz.*, the entrance side and the arcaded entrance that leads into the small room. Stout pillars, in the shape of recessed projections from the arcaded sides, and a string of flowers in the shape of inverted arrows, form, with the numerous small recessed foliations on the capitals, a very handsome cornice. The roof is in the shape of a Gothic vault, and is composed of four semi-circles with large receptacles for tiles, the ornamentation being the ever favourite lotus leaf. From the angles spring four vaults with festoons of flowers, and a crumpled lotus leaf forms the top. The smaller room has a roof in the shape of an oblong boat inverted and full of the same rich geometrical ornament. As the state in which this court was found in no way differs from the other and has been repaired, one is relieved of the task of reiteration. I may refer, however, to one item, *viz.*, the flooring of the court which formed the ceiling to a room underneath. The original flooring which satisfied the fastidious Emperor Baber in regard to light was removed and replaced by a Steam Company's skylight. This ugly addition has been taken away, and we have reverted to the old artistic covering. At the north-west corner of the court a flight of narrow steps, 3 feet wide, which conducts us down into a fine circular room some 39 feet in diameter. Its roof is in the shape of a tea-cup saucer, supported by eight circular pillars, placed in the shape of an octagon 9 feet from the wall and 9 feet from each other. Light was admitted into this room by square and circular holes, each of which has a duplicate window.

The room is admirably cool, and, as the Emperor Baber remarked, one soon finds the subdued light quite sufficient. Another room below this, and almost the duplicate of the one I have described, is called the 'Kaiser Kund,' where the caste marks were placed on the forehead. This room has a fine pillared entrance, 6 feet wide and 10 feet in height. Distributed over the palace are a number of small square rooms, which I take to have been sleeping apartments from the rings attached to the flat-topped roof, and which were evidently intended for a swinging cot.

These same rings which are to be met with everywhere, over gateways, on the entrance doors, walls, ceilings, windows, and underneath domes, prove the extent to which cloth and drapery were used for the upholstery of the Hindus.

Returning above to the inner court and at the north-east corner, a small staircase communicates with the top of the palace. Here, in the cool of the evening the Raja and his family resorted, as the sloping balustrades, with a central place of distinction, were evidently intended as sofas or cushions for the occupants. Viewing the palace as a whole, one is struck with the variety of construction as seen in the roofs, with the wealth and diversity of ornament as seen in every detail. Not only do the two courts differ from each other, but the wall sides, ceilings and roofs, are again different in each. Although the ornament used is but the same pattern in an altered guise, it is astonishing to recognise the artistic manner in which it is adopted, so as to make it appear not one but many patterns. In how many, I may say countless, forms is the lotus flower used, and yet it never wearies the eye.

#### *The Gujar Mahal.*

Being in a more ruined state than the Man Mandir, this beautiful fragment has scarcely received the attention that it deserves, and has been dismissed by the archæologist with barely a line of description. Until I directed the photographer's attention, no one ever visited it, and its ruined condition has been considerably increased since it was handed over as a residence for the servants and followers of the garrison, who destroy the rooms by their fires. Local tradition thus records the origin of the Gujar Mahal. "Raja Man Sinh was hunting in the neighbourhood of Rai, where he became enamoured of a handsome young woman equally celebrated for her strength as well as her good looks. On enquiring how she had acquired such bodily vigour, put to test in an encounter with some animal, she attributed her strength to drinking freely of the water at Rai. Raja Man then proposed marriage, to which she consented, on condition that he built her a palace and introduced water from Rai into it." Both stipulations he fulfilled. As General Cunningham has made no reference to the canal, I may state that I have traced the conduit myself both outside and inside the fortress. I was shown near the Gird Subah's Kachery a red clay-pipe, about the size of an ordinary English water-pipe, and sunk into the ground at a depth of 6 feet. Inside the fort I have recognised the same water channel in the Gujar Mahal itself. The situation of this palace, although it wants that commanding position which lends such attraction to the Man Mandir,

is not without the picturesque element, as it forms a noble quadrangle 300'  $\times$  260' on a fine piece of sheltered ground covered with tamarind trees, having the precipitous rock with its frowning boulders as a back ground. In design and ornamental detail it is altogether different from the 'Man Mandir,' but if it wants the bold protecting towers and pillared galleries that form such fitting salients to a castellated keep, it has as many if not a greater variety of mouldings and sculptured ornament. Probably it is the work of the same architect who built the 'Man Mandir;' and if so, it illustrates the ingenuity and fine conception that enabled him to erect two palaces so dissimilar, and yet so appropriate to the positions in which they are placed. The comparative want of salient features on the sides of the 'Gujari Mahal' gives more prominence to the large double-storeyed turrets which crown the angles of the palace. Each story has three faces on each side recessed from the other, and these faces were once covered with all sorts of stars and geometrical patterns in tile-work. Bold rows of brackets are rivetted to double rows of eaves, and the towers were crowned by one large central and a number of smaller projecting domes. They have all sloping palings ornamented outwardly with strips of the lotus leaf. Inside, the domes were covered with tile-work, a very pretty pattern of which is the outspread tail of the beautiful peacock. Evidently these large towers were favourite places of lounge, and communicated with a broad sort of cloister on the upper story. Between the towers are small central turrets. The western face of the palace is shut out by accumulations of debris, while the eastern has lost most of its mouldings and coloured tile ornamentation. Towards the top of the wall a fine eaves, supported on elephant brackets, goes round the palace, and over this are various rows of coloured tiles, including the favourite ducks, &c. The coping is not the arrow-headed kind to be met with on the 'Man Mandir,' but the one so familiar on ordinary forts, and which I have heard stated to be taken from the form of a Buddhist tope. I take it for granted that the northern face was the principal entrance to the palace, for here there are still the remains of an extensive pillared portico. On this side, as well as on the south, there are fragments of sculptured elephants, which must have been half the size of an ordinary elephant. It has been often alleged that there is a subterranean passage here, and I can testify myself to a Sergeant of the 39th Regiment having penetrated some such passage to a distance of 60 yards, when he had to desist owing to the prevalence of foul air, and this within the last few years. The known fondness of

the natives for underground chambers, their determination to have some means of exit when the fort was besieged, together with the ascertained fact that the Jains, after the incursions of the first Mahomedans, resorted to subterranean passages for the concealment of their images, makes the local tradition far from improbable. On the southern side there are more mouldings and ornamentation left than on any of the other sides, and a few pieces of figured sculpture, together with peacocks, parrots, &c. A very fine window is to be met with on this side, with a rich border, and inside the frame-work there are a number of square panels of the size which enclose panes of glass panels, which gives the window an Elizabethan sort of character. Over this is an inscription from the *Koran*, which shows that the Mahomedans used it in some form or other.

Inside the palace there are the usual dalans and side rooms, with pavilions in the centre of the square.

The largest room on the second storey is 33' x 20', and has a pitch roof; its doors are flanked by bold pillars, with elephant capitals. At one time the inner face of this palace must have been superbly decorated, and even now its beautiful arcaded sides—there is scarcely one arch alike—its brackets, eaves and diapered flower-work, make it a study for any one who admires the prodigality of Hindu ornament. I have re-opened several rooms that are on the basement storey, a few of which are in excellent condition. Among them is one 45' x 39', with a wagon vault. It has a height of some 30 feet, and I have heard it suggested that it was a sort of hall where justice was summarily dispensed.

The pillars and beams composing lintels are the largest I have seen anywhere. I found an obliterated inscription in one of the passages. During the time General W. Gordon commanded the Gwalior District, tons of debris were removed from the immediate neighbourhood of the palace. Instead, however, of opening up the place, many of the underground rooms were filled in with debris. I should suggest that the plan adopted by Major Judge, R.E., in the Agra Fort, and by Colonel Fitzroy in Allahabad, of opening up every available room, be adopted as much as possible. All the palaces in Gwalior are honey-combed, with lower rooms, native custom having been to construct them on account of coolness. If opened up, they would afford valuable space for godowns and other ulterior purposes. Utilisation, so long as it does not verge on the incongruous, serves the purpose of monumental preservation. In several garrisons the men have been employed on fatigue to open up the rooms of old buildings, and it is a work that they take much interest in.

Close to the south face of the 'Gujari Mahal' there is an old building called the 'Bura Mahal,' but not alluded to in General Cunningham's account of Gwalior. It is 41' 3" x 22' 9", with a height of 25' and with a curious wagon-vaulted roof. The building is oblong in shape, and has open sides at each like a 'bara dari.' Inside there are three walls like partitions, and formed in the shape of three brackets; doorways placed in courses over the other as support to the roof. Tradition is silent as to the purposes for which this singular construction was adopted. Its roof has 4 or 5 feet of concrete upon it, and is made up of the pillars of old buildings. What little remains of the Gujari Mahal is worth preserving. I have had photographs taken of it, and sketches of such details as possess artistic interest. Of the remaining palaces, *viz.*, (3) 'The Vikrama Mandir,' (4) 'The Karan Mandir,' (5) 'The Jehangiri Mandir,' (6) 'The Shahjehangiri Mandir,' none of them trench on monumental preservation sufficiently to require any detailed notice. Only the skeleton walls of the 'Vikrama' remain; the 'Karan Mandir' is in fair preservation, its lower rooms being used as a rum godown, while its upper rooms constitute quarters for staff non-commissioned officers; the Jehangiri Mandir is used as a barrack for convalescent soldiers from Morar, and the 'Shahjehangiri Mandir' is utilised as a residence for Public Works subordinates.

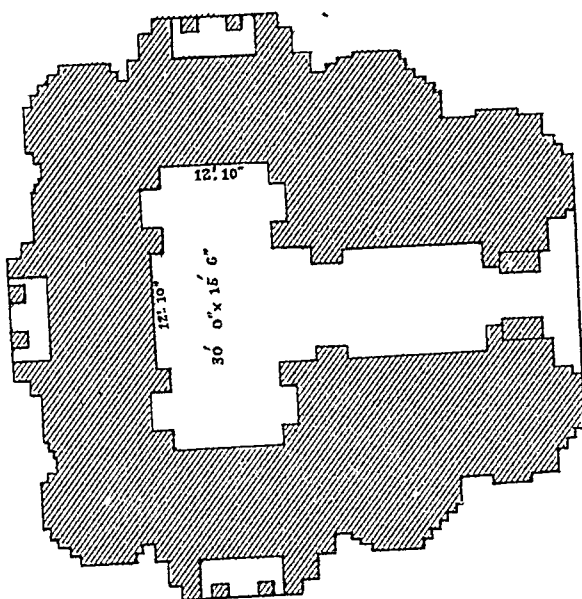
Some few months ago it was determined to dismantle a curious Hindu building in the Jehangiri Court. This building has interiorly a dome precisely the same as that of the fine 'Bara dari,' inside the Vikrama palace of which General Cunningham says: "The roof of this fine apartment is supported on eight curved ribs, of which four spring from the pillars, and four from the angles of the building; the top is quite flat." Thinking that the foundations were unsafe, the Executive Engineer commenced to dismantle this building, but no sooner did it become apparent that this was not the case, than the mischief which originated through the haste of subordinates was immediately repaired. No one has been more anxious to preserve the historical buildings than Major Crowdy.

## B.—TEMPLES.

(1) *The "Teli Mandir."*

Leaving the 'Man Mandir' and passing the 'Assi Khamba,' 'Bala Kila,' 'Urwahi,' and 'Suraj Kund,'

TELI-MANDAR.



on a road that traverses the western side of the fortress, we come to the 'Teli Mandir,' situated on high ground towards the centre of the citadel. This building is one of the most interesting in India. On the one hand, its giant form and the rugged solidity of its constructional details excite wonder, while the boldness of its ornament has an attraction of its own.

In this respect, it bears to other temples in the fort the same relation as the 'Man Mandir' bears to other palaces. Combined with them, it gives a charming variety to the architecture of the place and differs from them as much as they differ from each other. A special interest is attached to it from the circumstance that archæologists are divided regarding its history and origin. General Cunningham, in a private note, gives it as his opinion that the temple is 'Jain,' remarking that the 'Teli caste' were Jain, and that the building was erected by a Teli; on the other hand, Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra gives it as his belief that the temple is 'Brahmanical.' In describing it, I shall quote from the Archæological Report of the first esteemed authority, adding, with unfeigned diffidence, a few remarks that come within the range of my own observation. Since the General made his survey, I have recovered several statues, and by means of cleansing exposed its hitherto hidden ornament to closer inspec-

tion. "In plan," says General Cunningham, "it is a square 60 feet, with a projecting portico of 11 feet on the eastern side. The sides slope rapidly upwards to a height of 80 feet, where the building terminates in a horizontal ridge 30 feet in length. Externally it is divided by the character of its ornamentation into two distinct proportions,—that of the lower half consists of numerous niches, with lofty massive pinnacles, while that of the upper half consists of broad horizontal bands of moulding, some plain and some flowered, broken only by two lines of small square-headed niches near the top of the building. The original doorway of this temple is the loftiest that I have yet seen in any Hindu building. It reaches up to the lowest band of the horizontal mouldings, and cannot therefore be less than 35 feet in height, or about three and a half times its width." I ought not to omit that the General prefaces these remarks by stating that "the building is like similar ones to be met with in Southern India." The lower portion of the building is in its ornamentation precisely the same as the Chaturbhuj Rock temple, near the Lukshman gate on the eastern ascent, and identical with that of a miniature temple or votive offering that I took out of a wall adjacent to the Suraj Kund. Both are similar to the ornamentation in the Jaina façades of the Gwalior rock caves. This consists in a number of projections standing out in bold relief, and made up of alternate horizontal bands, cushions, and pinnacles which are placed perpendicular up to a certain point and then slope inwards, until finished off with a serrated crown. The two recessed portions of the various faces of the 'Teli Mandir' are covered with these, while the larger and outer projection is covered with bold, massive pinnacles alone, which extend up towards the horizontal bands. Very curious are these pinnacles, being in the shape of half an oval, with a beaded binding outside in the form of a snake's coil, and tied towards the top like a bunch of flowers. This snake coil is not only peculiar to the smallest ornamental detail, but it forms the outline of the northern and southern faces of the temple from the point where the tiers of statues commence until the building finishes off in a ridge. It enables one to supply the missing links of ornamentation and design consequent on the comparatively ruined state of the upper portion. Viewed alongside Ram Raz's illustrations of Madras Vimanas, the lower portion of the 'Teli Mandir' bears no resemblance to Madras temples; and although the outline of the upper portion does, its pillars and pinnacled niches are peculiar to Northern India. In determining the class of temple to which the 'Teli Mandir' belongs, the same difficulty and confusion is felt as in the case of the Sâs Bahu. That building has been conclusively shown by General Cunningham to be Brahmanical, and yet the popular voice has long

dubbed it Jain. If I may be allowed to say so, the confusion arises with many owing to arbitrary inferences being made from ornament, and the word 'Jaina architecture' being made peculiar to the buildings of a certain sect, while in reality it is peculiar to a certain period common alike to Brahmin and Jain. I am aware, indeed, that the fact of the lower niches,  $1' \times \frac{1}{2}'$ , being occupied exclusively by Brahmanical deities and their vahans, is no authority for calling the building a Brahmanical structure, it being well known that the Jains give a subordinate worship to members of the Hindu Pantheon. Abundant evidence of this is found in the Jaina caves, as well as in the rock-cut tablets near the Lukshman gate. At the latter, distinctively Jain sculptures mingle with a large number of lingams. I cross-questioned a Jain upon this point, and he explained it by saying that there were orthodox and unorthodox Jains in former days, as at the present hour. I am unable to explain the local tradition which claims both the Sas Bahu and 'Teli Mandir' as Jain. On the other hand, I am equally unable to discredit the following facts which point to the building being Brahmanical:—

(1) On the north and south faces over the horizontal bands there are images of Vishnu.

(2) Over the principal entrance, as well as on four minor side entrances, there are representations of the eagle Garuda.

(3) I have recovered several of the statues belonging to the upper niches,  $6' \times 3'$ , and they are all representations of Brahmanical deities.

(4) I have made various excavations round the 'Teli Mandir' and come upon several fragments, but I have not met with a single sculpture having a figure showing the well-known conventional attitude of the Jains either standing or sitting.

(5) That it was used as a Brahmanical place of worship in the tenth century is well known.

(6) Inside the building there is nothing in the pillars, nor in the cornice with its arabesque mouldings, to show that the building is a transformation, and that it belongs to a time anterior to the tenth century.

I have verified, it is true, General Cunningham's surmise that the building is on the site of a still older one by digging up some quaint heads wearing pointed mitres, with the hair pendulous to the mitre.

This I verified still further by coming upon foundations around the plinth which, owing to their proximity to it and interference with its walls, shows that they belonged to an older structure.

(7.) No inference can be drawn from the building having several storeys, because this was a peculiarity common to the Gwalior temples,

and is to be found on the Mata Devi and the temple to Parasnath as well as on the 'Teli Mandir.' Now that the building has been cleared up as far as the horizontal bands, its ornamentation is brought into full relief. The various projections, and the small re-entering angles that they make, create a fine effect over the lower niches; and after long obliteration is seen a quantity of carving, depicting wild fowl, peacock, &c. Around the entrance doorway, which is 35 feet high, as well as on four recesses, where the Bairagies used to live, are fine borders of arabesques and pediments, on which stand well-sculptured couples. At the foot of the door, and flanking the chief entrance, is a group consisting of four figures, measuring 6' 3"  $\times$  3' 3". They represent Vishnu, Shiva, and their female energies. Over them are two bas-reliefs, one representing pilgrims on their way to the Ganges carrying their water baskets, the other is too mutilated for recognition. Garments of flowered muslin and embroidered cloths, worn as the Malabar women now wear them, are thrown over the loins. Chignons adorn the hair, and jewellery, including various girdles, some in the shape of beads, some in the shape of broad bands, and some in the shape of cable chains, adorn the waist. From the necklace is suspended a long chain, to which there is a pendant in the shape of a medallion. I have mentioned that there are four storeys in the 'Teli Mandir,' the height of the basement room being 20 feet 6 inches. It is not quite known how access was obtained to the upper portion of the building, but I conclude the door was on the near north face of the portico, at a height of 25 feet 6 inches from the ground, and measuring 10'  $\times$  4' 9". It is true there are no remains of a staircase, but here there is a passage 10 feet 8 inches, and places for door sockets. Over the main door light was admitted by a window 7' 3"  $\times$  6". As a window on the northern face upper storey has the remains of perforated screen-work, in the shape of square holes, I conclude that the window on the second floor had the same. A similar window I have seen on the Buddhist Vihara at Sanchi.

From this a passage, 10 feet broad and 25 feet in length, is communicated with an octagon room.

There are small pieces of ornamentation here and there sufficient to show that its ceiling and walls were once covered with arabesques. On the western side of this room there is an opening that puzzles one, but on examination it proves to be a false window, or, following a custom common to the Hindus, a 'jawab' to the one opposite. Neither the ceilings nor floors of the upper storeys remain, and the facing stones are entirely gone. What remains is a rude casing in the shape of large blocks placed in the form of headers and stretchers without a particle of cement! How well the building has stood is

a question that excites not so much marvel as the query, how were these enormous stones got into their position<sup>1</sup>. On the second floor a few curved ribs over the cornice of the passage shows that an arch covered the passage. Some doubt has been shown as to the form the projecting portico took, but this is easily solved by a reference to the votive offering to which I have already alluded<sup>2</sup>. It is the same form that repeats itself all over the building, determining the general outline of ornamentation on upper portions of north and south faces and seen on every pinnacle stone of the building<sup>3</sup>.

Up to 1879, the 'Teli Mandir' remained in a shameful state of neglect. It was covered from summit to basement with chuna and white-wash, the former being in the shape of hard concrete with which the Mahomedans had bespattered it. To the circumstance of their adapting it for utilitarian purposes, we owe perhaps its existence at the present day. Until I remonstrated, it was utilised by ourselves as a coffee-shop for the fort garrison, and to the disfiguring influence of whitewash there was added the free use of fires, the natives cooking their food in the carved niches. Outside there was a shop for the manufacture of soda-water, and debris to the height of 6 feet was baked against the plinth. Through the kind intervention of Colonel Hawkins, R.A., as already noticed, the coffee-shop was vacated, and since then I have been engaged in cleaning it and superintending several repairs executed under the direction of Major Crowdy, R.E. It has been thoroughly cleaned inside and outside up to the horizontal bands. Around the building ground there has been prepared, through the instrumentality of prison labour, an archæological museum, and an attempt has been made to repair the vandalism of previous years. When the repairs to the cornice and porch are completed, a very remarkable building will have been rescued.

## (2) *Sâs Bahu Temples.*

(a) Larger Sâs Bahu—Shorn of the greater part of its architectural beauties, the former civilisation of Gwalior still peeps out in these two ruined shrines. A keen love of the picturesque seems to have been one of the chief characteristics of the Gwalior architects, for the same insight which induced them to cover the north-eastern battle-

<sup>1</sup> In one of the group marked as "the Bhilsa Topes," there is still a sloping ramp to indicate the manner in which the stones were adjusted in their places.

<sup>2</sup> The likeness can only be seen by illustration.

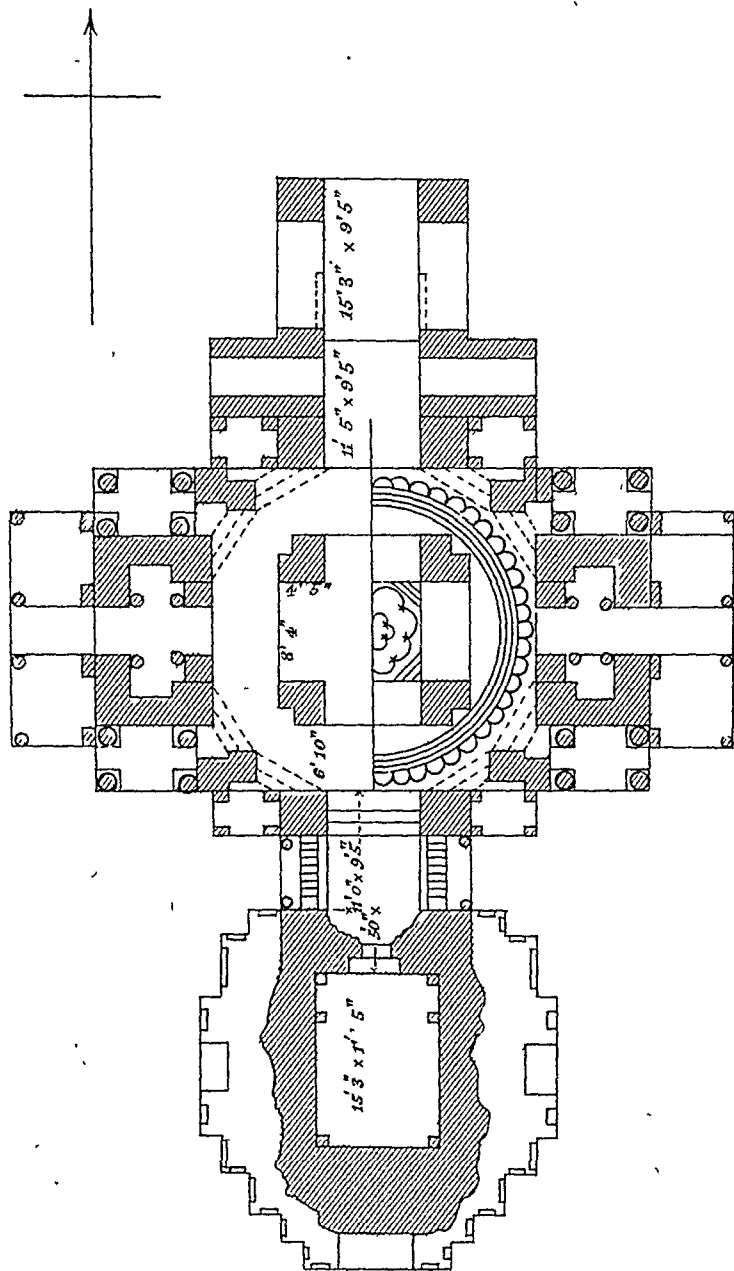
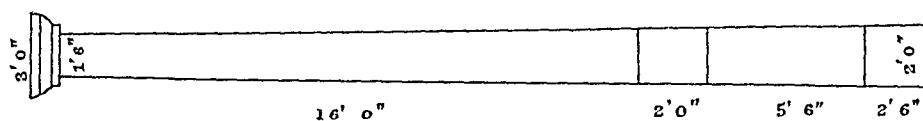
This ornamentation is very ancient and may be seen on a fresco at Ajunta.

<sup>3</sup> During the last summer I have cleaned two sides of the upper portion 'Teli Mandir'; two sides still remain, and I would suggest in addition that the projecting porch over doorway be restored owing to the exceptional interest attached to the building, and on account of its being in the centre of the museum compound.

# G W A L I O R

## GREAT SAS-BHAO-TEMPLE.

Pillar in front of Temple.



10 0 10 20 30 40 50 Feet

A. Cunningham, del.

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta April 1893



ments with a line of palatial buildings, induced them to select a salient for two of the most interesting temples to be seen anywhere<sup>1</sup>. Wholly dissimilar to the Teli Mandir, if it wants the commanding form and bold outline which gives to that temple the character of a huge monolith, it surpasses it both in beauty of design as well as in lavish ornament.

Although it is the only one of its kind that survived the vandalism of a former day in Gwalior, it belongs to a class of which examples are still to be found in contemporary temples over Northern India, and which find their development in the beautiful fanes of Brindaban, near Muttra. The ground plan of the latter, as of the Sâs Bahu, being in the shape of a cross, has given rise to some conjectures the more unwarrantable, seeing that the form is quite common to older Brahmanical places of worship and finds early illustration in the caves of Elephanta. Like 'the Teli Mandir,' a certain attempt has been made to involve the origin of Sâs Bahu in obscurity, despite the authoritative ruling of General Cunningham, deduced from the very positive nature of the sculptures and inscription. Popular and local tradition describes the building as Jain, and this belief has been in a measure strengthened by the high dictum of Mr. Fergusson, who says that "all temples of the period were more or less pantheistic." Popular tradition, in the same way, is impregnated with the idea, founded possibly on the nature of the rock, the mystic character of the Jains, and the presence of large groups of Jaina sculptures belonging to the fifteenth century, that the Jain religion was more largely represented in Gwalior than any other. This may be true of the fifteenth century, but the large bulk of fragmentary sculptures still to be found would indicate that the Jains represented formerly, as they do now, a mere fraction of the community. In some sort of way architecture may be called peculiar to a locality. A plan and dimensions of the Sâs Bahu I take from General Cunningham, who says "it is 100 feet long by 63 feet broad, with the short arms to the east and west." It will be observed that the Sâs Bahu faces the north, like the Jain temple to Parasnath near the Gangola Tal, and the Chaturbhuj Brahmanical rock-cut temple; while the Teli Mandir and Mata Devi face the east.

The plinth, which is 12 feet in height, is composed of various rows of diapered work,—elephants, arabesques, and one row representing all sorts of scenes, such as the massacre of the innocents, flight to Gokul in the life of Krishna, men in the attitude of penance, and couples, with hair like a Chinaman's pig tail, worshipping the lingam. Similar plinths

<sup>1</sup> The sites of the Buddhists and Jains at Sanchi, Aboo, and Ajmere is one with the religious sentiment found in mediæval Europe and which delighted to associate the beauties of Nature with the beauties of Religion

to that of the Sâs Bahu are to be found at Amber, and on the modern Chattries of the Scindias. Over this the basement storey is enclosed by a wall of fine pillared niches 5' x 4', and with little sub-niches on the pillars.

Some of these contain single statues, some couples, while in many instances three figures are grouped together. Above the basement storey the two tiers of open pillared porticoes, with corrugated eaves, are enclosed by perpendicular pailings<sup>1</sup> consisting of arabesque panels.

Three kinds of pillars are to be found on the Sâs Bahu, *viz.*, plain, circular ones with figured capitals, circular ones with three octagonal arabesque rims, and square arabesque ones on the upper tier.

General Cunningham remarks that the roof of the Sâs Bahu is the least satisfactory part of the building.

This is a correct description of the interior viewed from constructional considerations; still the roof is the best preserved part of the building. It owes its preservation to the fact of its possessing two domes like St. Paul's Cathedral. These pyramid roofs will exemplify the inexhaustible labour that the Hindus bestowed on their buildings. Other portions of the Sâs Bahu have few plain surfaces, but in the separate pyramid stones we have a striking instance of the wealth of detail they devoted to each piece of ornament.

These stones are in the form of a square, have pinnaced tops in the centre and serrated crowns at each side, with a large serrated crown over all. A few of the stones are wanting to complete the roof, and the sanctum has entirely disappeared; still with the aid of contemporary buildings one can supply what is deficient.

The temples of Kandarya Mahadeo at Khagurhao, and one at Udai-pur, while wanting the three-storied porticoes of the Sâs Bahu, exhibit a great affinity in ornament.

All the roofs of these temples were heavily cramped with iron, and were covered with a mass of golden spirelets. The porch of the Sâs Bahu is quite different from these temples, in that it has two open storeys, supported by eight large square arabesque pillars, which again support a singularly handsome dome in the shape of recessed circles, having horse-shoe projections, the whole surmounted with a lotus leaf. The roof of the porch rests on a number of pinnaced niches, which have figures of Vishnu, Brahma, Shiva, and Gunes. It consists

<sup>1</sup> The pailings referred to here are generally those which enclose the basement storey of mediæval temples. I conclude that they are developments of the Buddhist railing.

When about to support the dome in the early part of this year I was puzzled as to whether a similar pailing went round the upper tier. My mistri assured me that this was not the case, and pointed that however artistically carried out, the presence of vertical and horizontal beams indiscriminately placed indicated a Hindu repair. This also shows that the dome was at one time threatened with a catastrophe and confirms the conjecture that the four central pillars of the interior formed an afterthought.

of pyramid stones and serrated crowns multiplied to an interminable extent. The antarala, or antechamber, before it became distorted had a roof, in all probability resembling the porch. Of the sanctum itself the few isolated mouldings and sculptured niches that remain indicate that its lower portion was rich in ornament.

If the exterior of the Sâs Bahu is distinguished by an excess of sculpture, the interior is still more ornate. Starting with the porch, the dimensions ( $3' \times 15'5''$ ) of which correspond with those of the sanctum, we find it covered with arabesques, which have the demerit of being unfinished; many of them are only traced, and the inference is that the workmen were interrupted by vandals. There can be little doubt, as General Cunningham has suggested, that the building was used as a dwelling-house; and this explanation can alone account for its comparative preservation. Little did the Mahomedans think, when they endeavoured to efface the carvings by chuna and white-wash, that this method would have the effect of preserving them. From the sockets that are to be seen between the open pillars of the porch, I conclude that a sloping balustrade went round both storeys for the accommodation of worshippers.

The dome over the porch, which rests on an octagon, is of a very rich and ornamental kind. With the aid of cleansing it is, after the lapse of 800 years, as perfect as when it was new, retaining the smallest indentation of the workman's chisel.

It is composed of a number of circles, which are divided again into semi-circles or horse-shoe projections. Very justly admired is the entrance doorway, which is  $6'6'' \times 3'6''$ , and garnished with an amount of carved border and arabesques that might almost be designated wasteful excess. Two graceful pilasters, with richly jewelled females in clusters at the foot of the shafts, flank the door. These pilasters, with their diagonal strips of raised garland, circular indented bands, and floriated capitals, are to be met with in the south-east group of Jaina caves, and depict a piece of ornament peculiar to Gwalior. Over the doorway is the Hindu triad in recessed and projecting pillared niches. Between the niches are rows of attendants considerably recessed from the main projections and covered with a very beautiful arabesque coping. What I observed with regard to the ornament of the 'Teli Mandir' is equally applicable to the Sâs Bahu; every bracket, capital, pillared niche, and moulding, is but a repetition of the plan of the building, giving a harmony to the smallest detail.

Before leaving the porch, it is necessary to note the inscription which occupies two slabs, one on each side, they separately measuring  $5'9'' \times 1'9''$ . An analysis of this inscription was made by Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra many

Inscription,

years ago, but it would appear that the mention of the name of Padmanatha confirmed many in the idea that it was a Jain temple. On the other hand, General Cunningham remarked that 'Padmanatha' was only another name for Vishnu; and Dr. Burgess, to whom I sent a rubbing, says that this is recognised all over Southern India. I am indebted to a local pandit for a rendering of the inscription, and Dr. Burgess has promised me a full translation, which I hope will be available for a Guide Book I intend to publish.

The inscription records the dedication of the temple and gifts bestowed to Brahmans in the Vikrama year 1149 (A.D. 1092). The donor and builder of the temple was a prince called Mahipala, of the Kachhawa family, the slayers of the tortoise. The inscription goes on to relate that Kirth, one of the Kachhawa Rajas, and who reigned from A.D. 990 to A.D. 1010, gave orders for the building of the temple. His son, Mulha Deva, better known as Bhovan Pal, succeeded him, and was succeeded in turn by his son Deva Pal, 1050. The latter prince, it would appear, dedicated the greater part of his means in building the temple for the god Anrudha, but died before its completion. He again was succeeded by his cousin Mahipala, who brought the work to completion in 1092. The inscription then goes on to relate the various moneys that were spent and the villages taxed for the support of the temple. It also gives the various gold and silver vessels, umbrellas, lamps, &c., used in the service of the temple.

On entering the Madhya Mandapa, or middle hall, there is little found here to give it a distinctive character, save a fine dome.

The ornamentation of the door has become obliterated. So, too, the sloping balustrade. At the first projection, just clear of the Madhya Mandapa, there are side doors, 10' x 5', and leading into covered recesses, which I suppose were retiring places for the priests. These side doorways have fine freizes, with Brahmanical deities and their vahans. Since the temple has been cleared, not only do the cleansed sculptures, taken as a whole, dub beyond dispute the class of temple, but to take a single piece of carving, say the freize to which I have referred, there is no room for doubt.

When compared with a contemporary Jaina frieze which I found in the fort, the difference is at once observed<sup>1</sup>. The ornament is essentially the same, *i. e.*, a number of recessed and pillared niches crowned with a cresting of arabesques, but the conventional attitude of the figures is perfectly distinct. Beyond this again, on both sides, are two other similar places of retreat. The main side doors where the arms of the cross project are 12' x 6', and are flanked on each side

<sup>1</sup> I have sketches of both friezes and will place them in juxtaposition in my projected Guide Book.

by a flight of steps communicating with the upper storey. At right angles to these doors are two small recesses. Everywhere the same luxurious ornament repeats itself. Describing the central hall, General Cunningham says: "That it is 30 feet 10 inches square, or exactly one-half of the outside breadth of the temple, and just twice the length of the sanctum." I have heard it suggested that a lingam was enshrined in the great hall but on this point there is no evidence beyond that I have found large lingams among the debris. Proceeding to a description of the roof, the General says: "It is the least satisfactory part. The central hall, which is rather less than 31 feet square, is crowded with massive four pillars bearing the enormous pyramidal roof of the upper storey. The roof of the lower story, which springs from a twelve-sided base, is found by cutting off each corner of the square with two long horizontal beams resting on a stout pilaster. Above this line of beams the roof is continued by circular rows of overlapping stones, until it reaches the architraves of the four central pillars. The middle square is covered in the usual manner by cutting off the corners to form an octagon. Above this there is an overlapping circular line of eight cusps, covered by another circular line of four cusps, which is crowned by a single recessed slab. This part of the roof is finished in the usual rich and elaborate style of the Hindu architects, but its small size, which is only 8 feet 4 inches square, is mean and insignificant compared with the great expanse of the hall itself, which is nearly 31 feet square."

So completely have later critics fallen in with the spirit of General Cunningham's remarks, as to suggest that the insertion of the four large central pillars was never a part of the original design but inserted afterwards. Although admirable artists, it is generally allowed that the Hindus were bad engineers. In the case in point, they apparently never calculated the weight of the dome; so contemplating a catastrophe to the roof of the Sâs Bahu, they inserted these four props, which quite detracts from the otherwise acknowledged beauty of the design. A comparison of these four pillars with other parts of the building, indicate them as of later work. Still no actual conclusion can be arrived at; for, on referring the matter to General Cunningham, he says: "That four central pillars are quite common in Brahmanical buildings." Each half of the building being but a reflex of the other, it is unnecessary to describe the antarala and sanctum entrance. It only differs in one point, *viz.*, that instead of there being two doors, one below and one above, at the main entrance or porch, there is but one door to the sanctum, the space above being filled up with sculpture. The love of domed buildings, which was unquestionably a predilection of the Jains, has led some people, who make arbi-

trary inferences from architecture, to see in the many domes of the Sâs Bahu another argument for its being a Jaina edifice. In the Sâs Bahu there are no less than seven domes, and the exquisitely unique one which covers the entrance to the sanctum would be decisive, if we were not convinced that architecture was common to a period and not to any particular sect.

The dome referred to is made up of a number of circles with horse-shoe projections, diminishing in size as they recede from the other. It is like the other smaller domes of the building, with this difference, that it has graceful females with garlands in their hands and sitting inside the projections. A perfectly similar dome I identified last year when re-visiting the cloisters of the Kutub. I should have been misled by the coincidence if I had not known that architecture was common to all sects, and further that the cloisters of the Kutub are made up not of one but of the remains of many temples. Like other buildings in the fort, the larger Sâs Bahu up till 1879 lay under the ban of neglect. Its sanctum was falling to pieces, followers of wanton mischief were mutilating its sculptures and unauthorisedly searching after treasure. Grass and lichen covered the building.

Inside its carvings were black as soot, and overlaid with  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch of Mahomedan chuna to such an extent, that the ornamentation could not be seen. Added to this, I may mention that natives, cattle, and goats, gave the place as much the appearance of a latrine as it possibly could have. On my remonstrance General Gordon at once applied a remedy, and means were taken to secure the sanctum that was falling to pieces. A rough sort of encasement was run up by the Executive Engineer, Major Wingate, which met the wants of the moment. This repair would have been more satisfactory, and more in character of the building, if dry masonry selected from the tons of debris that cover the fort had taken the place of a pucca wall made of new stone.

Under the Curator of Ancient Monuments, I have removed the chuna and white-wash that disfigured its interior, so that its long-obscured carvings can now be admired.

As I have already remarked, the roof of this building is in a state of good repair owing to its having a double dome. The struts of General Cunningham (some of which require to be renewed) have for years greatly contributed to the preservation. I may say that but for these struts the roof would have given way. Their necessity is owing to the architraves being of far too great a span—a general defect in the Gwalior buildings. Outside a number of the pyramid stones have been clamped, but much is still required to make the building weather-tight.

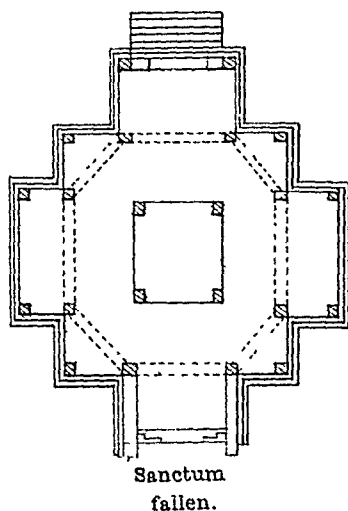
This work has been postponed, owing to limited means, to the

extent of repairs necessary, and from the Executive Engineer having deemed it desirable, after securing dangerous portions in each building, to put one edifice in good order at a time instead of attempting too many buildings. After the smaller Sâs Bahu (whose repairs approach completion) is finished, the larger structure will be thoroughly overhauled. I have to report of this building what I have said of others, that unless the local authorities make provision for their being thoroughly looked to and kept cleansed, there is no guarantee that the work initiated will not be undone. If it is thought desirable to use these buildings as places of pleasure resort, *i.e.*, for picnics, &c., I should recommend that the permission of the commandant be first obtained, and that parties so using the building be held responsible that no damage or disfigurement takes place, and that the buildings are swept.

### *Small Sâs Bahu.*

The small Sâs Bahu, which has been described by General Cunningham

Smaller  
SÂS-BHAU-TEMPLE.



ham "as a fine specimen of mediæval ornate architecture," is situated close to, and under the shadow of, the larger fane. Overlooking the battlements, it constitutes quite an architectural feature to them, relieving the bareness of the long line of rugged wall. In plan it is the same as the larger building; its dimensions being, Maha Mandapa, 23' 4"; Arddha Mandapa 12' x 7½'. From its parent it differs in the following particulars,—the plinth is far more effective and better adapted to the size of the building than the larger one, the pillared porch is lighter, and the four central pillars make up a graceful colonnade. It has only

one storey, and outside the building it is plainer, being destitute on

*Note.*—Since the above was written, His Highness the Maharajah Scindia has contributed Rs. 4,000 towards monumental preservation. I have initiated the exterior repairs of the Sâs Bahu, and have now workmen employed in securing the upper gallery and roof. Although I have avoided any attempt at carving, I have at the same time tried to follow the lines of moulding with solid masonry repairs, instead of the dreadful patch-work with which contractors formerly disfigured the building, and which were executed with no reference to appearance.

the lower part of that sculpture which covers the more imposing building.

Over the porch, and around the cornice of the temple, there is a fine row of recessed and projecting niches, and over them the pyramid stones are placed in great profusion.

Most of the interior pillars of the larger buildings are square with arabesque panels, but here they are circular, and, if anything, more artistic. On their shafts are groups of dancing girls; the smaller pillars of the sanctum constituting with the door a model of elegance, both in design and execution. The temple is enclosed by a sloping pailing, which is divided into panels by jointed rods in half relief. Inside this a pailing, with a flat beam 2 feet in breadth, constituted a sort of sofa for the worshippers.

Underneath the sofa are niches, 4' x 4', but all empty. With the exception of a thick cluster of small niches round the architraves of the interior, sculpture is employed far more sparingly than on the larger building, and with far greater effect. Nothing is left of the sanctum but its interior dome, and it has been built into the wall of the battlements, in the same barbarous way as pillars and sculptures, which the Mahomedans seized as nearest at hand for a repair.

The smaller Sâs Bahu was not so dilapidated, on the whole, as the larger building, but its roof was far more shattered, one-half of it being almost bare; very little of its cornice and drip remained, and the plinth was buried in a battery which the Mahrattas had erected.

I further perceived several traces of mutilation and injury to the sculptured shafts of pillars, as well as proof that digging for treasure was frequently carried on inside the building.

In all other particulars relating to neglect, the smaller Sâs Bahu fared no better than other buildings which I have described, dirt being allowed freely to accumulate, while the carvings were hid by repeated coats of chuna and white-wash. Now the building has been well cleaned both inside and outside, and, with the aid of sappers temporarily located in the fort, the plinth has been released and repaired, pieces of drip and sloping balustrade have been replaced, and the roof has been put in excellent order. This little shrine<sup>1</sup> ought to last for centuries.

<sup>1</sup> In the wood of Butesar and close to the village of Paraoli, which is 16 miles to the north of Gwalior, I found a temple which is almost a duplicate of the small Sâs Bahu but completely ruined.

I have had a high retaining wall curtailed in height, the platform lowered, and the interval between the plinths of the two temples filled in. From all points the temple is now exposed to view. As the repairs to this temple appear to partake rather of the character of a restoration than that of ordinary preservation, I think it right to say

(3) *The "Mata Devi."*

This little temple occupies a corner at the north-west of the Suraj Kund.

By General Cunningham its date is ascribed to the twelfth century, and classified as a Sivite temple. As it stands, the height of this fragment up to the corrugated eaves is 18 feet, but with the double storey the original height must have exceeded this by several feet. It is puzzling to understand what this double storey was meant for, and how it was approached. Presumably the building was covered by a sikra finishing off with the usual serrated crown.

Judging from the character of other scattered remains which I have dug up around the Suraj Kund, the size of the 'Mata Devi' is small when compared with some of the twelfth century temples that stood near the tank. Inside it is a square  $8' \times 8'$ , and is approached by a door  $5' 7'' \times 2'$ , over the centre of which is a representation of Gunesh.

Diminutive, however, in form as this fragment is, its ornament is singularly effective, and quite different to any other style in the fort. It is made up of a number of alternate recesses and projections, which increase towards the centre of each face. These projections have flat surfaces, but so sharply defined as to give a very incisive outline to the carvings. Taken separately, they look like pillars covered with bands of ornamentation. Commencing at the top with double capitals, which have little overlapping floriations, the bands are divided alternately into vertical and horizontal strips, ending off at the bottom with a number of cushions. The plinth is made up of various rows of moulding, on which the horned demon with festoons of flowers perpetually repeats itself. Since General Cunningham made his survey the porch of this temple has vanished, and the little piece that remains has its door, plinth, and many of the facing stones, in a rather disjointed condition. I have pointed this out to the Executive Engineer, and hope that the little which survives will be secured, the building being the only fragment now existing of twelfth century architecture in the fort.

that it is not contemplated to treat any other building in a similar way. The building was in an exceptionally shattered state. Objection, I allow, may also be taken to the removal of those marks of age which lend a poetry to ruins. In exposing, however, the carvings to view, *i.e.*, in removing chuna nearly as hard as old concrete, it was found necessary to clean the whole building. Cleaning, in some cases for exteriors, has an excellent effect, especially when the stone is of a dark free stone colour, but when the colour is white, it is better, if possible, to leave it alone, rather than interfere with the sentiment that belongs to age.

*(4) Temple near Gangola Tal.*

On the south bank of the Gangola Tal there is another fragment of a building, 40 feet in height, and in plan a square, 11'  $\times$  11'. Its entrance faces the north, and there are three storeys of the same dimensions with doors, 5' 9"  $\times$  3'. The upper storey has its door flanked by richly carved pillars. Over each doorway are representations of Parasnath. The roof is entirely gone, and the same may be said of the mouldings on the lower part of the building and plinth. In ornamentation it is not unlike the Mata Devi, but its projections stand out in smaller relief, and it wants the finish and elaboration that belongs to the workmanship of that temple. With the exception of niches that flank each door, there are no receptacles for sculptured carvings. As General Cunningham has passed over this temple as unimportant, I should have been content to do the same had I not dug from the floor of the lower storey, at a depth of 7 feet, a number of large statues representing various Jaina Thirthankars. I also recovered two large pedestals. All these have inscriptions, but I fear the letters are too obliterated to admit of the rubbings I have taken being translated. Of smaller statues, I recovered two unmutated ones, both representing females, and superior to any I have met with in the fort. A well-defined expression is thrown into each face; the features are incisively marked, and the limbs are something more than the shapeless mass that one meets in ordinary Indian sculptures. I have seen nothing in any of the Jaina caves like them, although I have a vague idea that the temple belongs to the period when the various groups of Jaina sculptures were executed, *i.e.*, the fifteenth century. Several pieces of ceiling I recovered, showing the ornamentation to have been in the usual form of a lotus. Quantities of debris and dirt I removed from the temple, and the sweepers who occupied it have been turned out.

*(5) The Chaturbhuj.*

As this rock-cut temple near the Lukshman gate is in excellent order, and has been described already by General Cunningham, it is unnecessary to say anything about it. Its ornamentation, as already remarked, bears a close resemblance to the 'Teli Mandir,' having the same pinnacles, dental blocks, horizontal bands, and indented cushions. Its roof is evidently a modern repair, as the serrated crown, lying close by it, shows that this top was the usual one adopted by ninth and tenth century architects. An interesting inscription was found by General Cunningham inside, on the left-hand side. Somehow or other, the analysis of the inscription, as rendered

by Dr. Rajendra Lala, did not tally with the sculptures. It spoke, too, of one Bhoja Deva, regarding whom little is known in the Gwalior annals. I had the curiosity to clean the inside of the porch and come upon a second inscription on a lintel over the door and consisting of seven lines. Knowing that the rock temples are few and important, I forwarded rubbings of both to General Cunningham<sup>1</sup>.

### MOSQUES.

A nemesis seems to have overtaken Mahomedan destruction in the fort, and there is not a mosque or building of note to commemorate their 300 years' domination. It is known that Altamash erected a grand mosque, but the site of it is not known. The opinion of General Cunningham favours the idea that it occupies the site of the Sun temple, but the site of the latter remains undetermined. Inside the Bala Kila, in that portion occupied as a gun park and magazine and not far from the Urwahi, there are vestiges of old foundations, but their proximity to modern buildings forbids excavations. Several ancient pillars, with old Arabic inscriptions, I came across in portions of the battlements, one close to the southern end of the European hospital, and another not far from the Trikonja Tal. I tried to recover them the other day, but they had disappeared in the repair of the battlements:

Assi Khamba. another instance suggesting supervision. Adjoining the European guard room there is a building called the Assi Khamba, which looks as if it had been transformed into a mosque, as it possesses a jawab and has carved elephants near the spandrils of the door. It is 81' x 60', with a flat-topped roof and a pillared porch 9' x 9', with a Jaina dome on the eastern face. Attached to this building is a fine pillared baorie, circular in shape. As the building is now vacated, the wall enclosure ought to be removed and the place cleaned up. This General Gordon had in part agreed to before his transfer to Peshawar.

Scattered over the fort there are a number of minor mosques, such as those at the Hatthi Paur and Doondha gateways, in the Jehangir court, and abutting the south-eastern group of Jaina caves. They are of no importance.

In the city there were a number of mosques, but only a few of them remain. They chiefly belong to the time of the Emperors Jehangir, Shajehan, and Alamgir. For size they have no pretensions, but are remarkable as being the best built buildings in Gwalior; built with large, finely-dressed blocks of stone, both the colour and the

<sup>1</sup> General Cunningham has promised me an analysis, and says that the date of the inscription is A. D. 877, a year later than the one inside.

carvings retain a freshness seldom to be found. In one of the smaller city mosques, I found an inscription of the time of Sikandar Ludi.

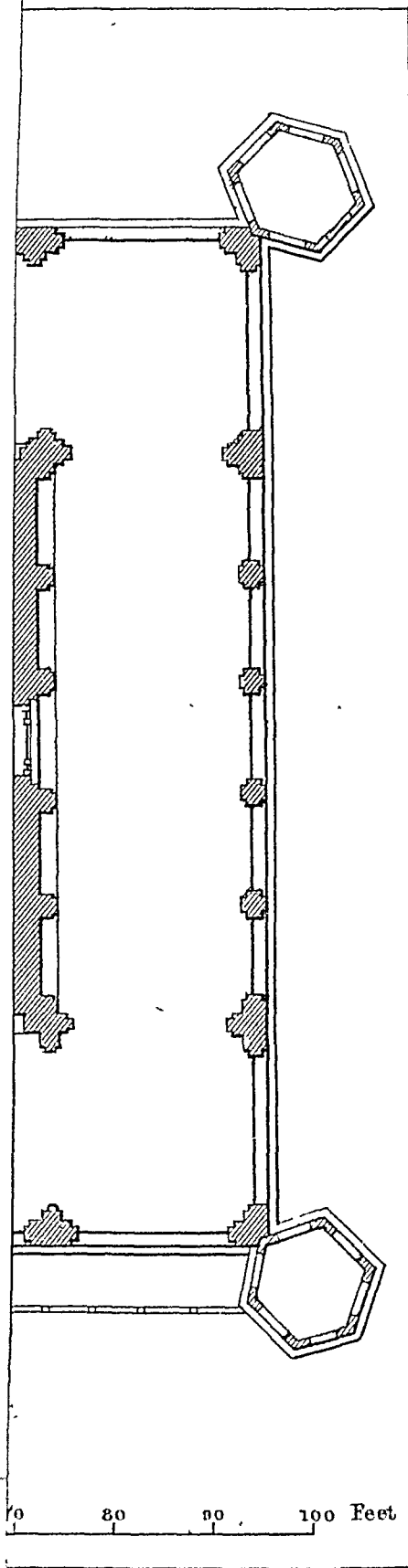
(1) *The "Jammai Masjid."*

It occupies a corner outside the fort and close to the Gujar Mahal. As its name indicates, it is the principal place of worship resorted to by the Mahomedan community. It stands in a court, 123'  $\times$  95', raised above the ground at the height of 22 feet. This has a plain balustrade around it. The frontage to the court is composed of windows of screen-work on each side. Of the mosque itself, the dimensions are 54'  $\times$  60'  $\times$  70'; and beyond being a neat, compact, and beautifully built structure, it possesses little other attraction. With the exception of two handsome windows and a few pieces of white marble constituting tips to the minarets and for inscriptions, it has little or no ornament. It may be termed severely plain. From enquiry I have ascertained that the Mahomedans have frequently represented the neglected condition of their chief place of worship. A row of bunniahs' shops forms an ugly excrescence to the frontage, while a Hindu school misappropriates the lower portion of the building. The peepul trees, combined with grass and lichen, are destroying its cupolas and minarets, and the building may be classified as one in a state of disrepair. Its endowments have been confiscated, and even the rent derivable from the bunniahs' shops, and set apart by the Maharajah for its repair, has found its way into some other channel. At a very little outlay the Jammai Masjid could be thoroughly cleansed and put in excellent order. It is a matter that exercises the attention of the Mahomedans, who tried to raise a subscription but failed.

(2) *Mosque of Khandowla Khan.*

Close to the Delhi gate of Gwalior the Mahomedans once lived in large numbers, and there a benevolent Subha, in the reign of Shah-jehan, built for himself two mosques, one for himself and family, the other for travellers. The serai mosque has no feature of distinction, and that of Khandowla Khan himself has nearly disappeared. It is small, and only a skeleton wall, the rear face 65 feet in length, remains standing. This is made up of three towers, which look like buttresses, and ornamented with rich brackets and scroll-work. It is inexplicable how this mosque has fallen into such complete decay, for the stone has a freshness of yesterday about it, and every indentation of the carver's chisel looks as if the work had just been completed. Only neglect can account for this precipitate ruin. The admirably dressed





stone, the large panels and finished style of building, give to the mosque of Khandowla Khan an interest which it shares with the other structures of the time.

In front of it there is a burial ground ( $60' \times 42'$ ), raised on a terrace  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet from the ground, the sides of the terrace being sub-divided into panels of the most beautiful floral-work. Over this, and enclosing the square, was a balustrade formed of octagon posts,  $3' 8"$  in height, between which there was pierced work. At one time there was an outer enclosure like the inner, and the whole must have been in perfect taste. Strange to say, until I unearthed this cemetery by chance, no one knew of its existence. Those who appreciate first class workmanship, will find much to approve of in this abominably neglected burial ground.

Not far from the Delhi gate, on a conical hill flanking the northern end of the city, is an old Pathan cemetery. Its name has perished, and the only relic that has survived is a cusped gateway flanked by two sloping towers, which at one time were covered with tile-work. Small pieces of the tiles I found at the tops of the towers. Over the cusped arch, with an interval of 4 to 5 feet of masonry, there is a window of screen-work. This arrangement is not uncommon in Gwalior, and may be seen on the Garh Garg gate on the north-west side of the fortress; the only difference between the two gateways being that the arch is cusped in one and of Hindu bracket form in the other; in one case the towers are sloping and the other vertical.

### TOMBS.

Everywhere great tomb builders, the Mahomedans of Gwalior, were no exception to their brethren in other places in the feelings of reverence with which they were animated towards their dead.

Both on the eastern and western sides of the fortress, there are the remains of many tombs; so, too, on the northern side. Few of these have survived; for Gwalior, long a prey to unsettled government in past years, has been more under the influence of the tax-gatherer than any other place. Endowments are confiscated, and the first moment that the plough can intrude, grave stones are rooted up and hallowed ground is turned into grain furrows.

### *Muhammad Ghaus.*

This fine building is situated on the skirts of the town and close to the Subanrikh rivulet. It is on the left-hand side of the road, and although only a few yards distant, few people visit it, probably owing

to its decayed surroundings, which are apt to practise deception on the eye. The tomb is of the time of Akbar, and as it stands in an extensive acreage surrounded by other dwellings, it was originally, in all probability, a pleasure resort to be converted subsequently according to Mussulman practice into a place of sepulchre. It is the scene of many annual *mêlas*, but I can find no authority for the local tradition that it is a converted Hindu temple. General Cunningham thus describes the tomb—"The building is a square of 100 feet, with hexagonal towers at the corners, instead of, as usual, by the sides. The tomb consists of a large room, 43 feet long, with the angles cut off by pointed arches, from which springs a lofty Pathan dome. The verandah is 23 feet wide."

Anything more beautiful than this verandah I have rarely seen, for the beautiful trellis has all the solemnizing effect of stained glass. What Mr. Fergusson says of the Taj, regarding light pouring in through a double enclosure of screen-work, has here, although in a diminished form, the same chastened effect. The Pathan dome, with the bold brackets and eaves, not only bespeak the eclecticism of Akbar, but a very novel feature in a Mahomedan tomb is the introduction of pea-fowl into the lattice-work. At first sight this appears rather a departure from the severity of Mahomedan notions, but on further examination it resolves itself into a mere freak of the Hindu artist, the outcome of a fancy peculiar to Gwalior seen in the 'Man Mandir' and on innumerable buildings over the city, including the domestic houses within the acreage on which Muhammâd Ghaus' tomb stands. Some of the screen-work patterns on the verandah enclosure are most elaborate, and the raised borders on the towers recall the beautiful work of Futtehpur Sikri. Inside the sepulchral chamber is disappointing and contains a marble tomb which in design and size differs little from ordinary Mahomedan grave stones.

Glazed tiles at one time covered the dome, and on the ceiling of the verandah pieces of frescoe are still to be seen outside.

On the south side of the tomb are a number of subordinate tombs raised generally on richly-carved plinths, and enclosed by screen-work which seems to lose its effect when applied to comparatively miniature work. If I exclude the ceiling of the verandahs which requires being looked to, the tomb of Muhammad Ghaus is in fair preservation. It lies, however, in a shameful state of dirt and neglect, the pierced tracery of the galleries is shamefully blockaded with mud, and the lattice-work is in many places broken. As the tomb is greatly admired and much resorted to by visitors, I have frequently sought the intervention of the Maharajah, but in vain. I think the whole tomb should be cleansed inside and outside, the windows of

screen-work ought to be restored and the dome and verandah ceilings repaired. The ruined buildings outside ought to be removed and a garden substituted.

A few yards from the tomb is a ruined flight of buildings, where Muhammad Ghaus once lived, including a skeleton court,  $117' \times 117'$ , with ruined pavilions. Here the descendants of the saint live in wretched penury. Muhammad Ghaus obtained from Akbar a jaghire which gave him an annual income of two lakhs of rupees. Out of this, ample provision was made for the repair of the tomb and the support of a mosque which is close to it.

The endowments, however, have been confiscated, and all that the saint's descendants receive is a monthly dole of Rs. 3. I think these poor people ought to have charge of the tomb and receive a fair remuneration for keeping it in good order. When placed in a state of repair, it would be advantageous to the place if, in conjunction with other buildings of interest in the Maharajah's territory, it was visited

Muhammad Ghaus' tomb. periodically and reported upon. Unfortunately, it is well known that in the matter of monuments the Mahrattas take no interest.

#### TOMBS OF KHANDOWLA KHAN AND HIS SON NUZERI KHAN.

##### (A) *The Tomb of Khandowra Khan*

Is situated close to the Delhi gate and adjoining a cemetery I have already described.

The tomb of Khandowla Khan is in the shape of an octagon, which rests on a plinth  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet from the ground, similar in all respects to the plinth in front of the mosque. It has a height of nearly 8 feet, and consists of a recessed panel on each side of the octagon,  $5\frac{1}{2}' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'$ .

This, again, is sub-divided into three equal panels, covered with exquisite floral ornamentation. Around the large panel is a small border of pierced work, and around it again are sloping borders of raised work. A finial, in the shape of a star, crowns the octagon, and at each corner are small posts, 3 feet in height, with a chevron ornamentation.

Khandowla Khan was the Subah of Gwalior in the reign of Shajehan.

##### (B) *Tomb of Nuzeri Khan (son of Khandowla Khan).*

This is oblong in shape, the long sides being 17 feet 10 inches, and the short sides 10 feet 9 inches, with a height of 6 feet 5 inches. Leaving out the finial and adding a spiral twist to the four corners of

the tomb, it corresponds in every other particular to that of Khandowlra Khan in its ornamentation. A portion of this tomb I have copied in stone for the South Kensington Museum.

#### GATES.

A walled city, with a stronghold almost impregnable in olden days. Gwalior once rejoiced in an exceptionally large number of gateways, in the fortress; the effect of a number of gateways, with beautiful, flanking towers dividing the different approaches, was most charming, the picturesque element being greatly heightened by the tile-work. Nearly all the gateways inside the citadel are of the time of Raja Man Sinh, but the Badalgurh, Hatthi Paur, and Garh Garj, alone retain traces of ornament.

From the archaic-looking pillars and situation of the Lukshman gate near the Chaturbhuj temple (which goes by the name of the 'Lukshman'), it is inferred that this is the oldest gateway in the fort, *i.e.*, between A.D. 800 and 900. Both the 'Bhairon' and 'Ganes' have disappeared, and the two lower gates on the Dhoonda entrance are in a very shattered condition. As the Dhoonda is still a popular approach to the fort, it is to be regretted that these gateways should get into a state of disrepair beyond redemption. This does not apply to the Garh Garj, because it is situate in an outwork that has long fallen into disuse.

At the same time the gate ought either to be secured or removed to the museum. A similar course might with advantage be pursued in the case of all dismantled buildings possessing carvings of ornament of any value.

With the exception of the Badalgurh, which has a cusped horse-shoe arch, all the fort gates have the usual Hindu bracket with ponderous corbels.

The Badalgurh is a transformation, as I found the original arch of this gateway lying close by but in detached pieces.

In the city of Gwalior there were at one time no less than 18 gates, but of these only a few remain, and they belong to the period of the Moghul emperors. Unlike the Mahrattas, who show no respect for the works of their predecessors, the Mahomedans not only secured what they found standing, but added beautiful erections of their own. One of these, in a state of fast increasing decay, may be seen near the Jhansi bazaar. It has a total height of 34 feet with 27 feet to key-stone, the width of the arch being 20 feet and total width of gateway 60 feet. The arch is a double one, the lower being at the height of 17 feet from the ground, and consisting of fine corbelled brackets with fluted joints, the outer one having a fine horse-shoe

cusping. A raised border,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch of fret-work, encloses the arch, and the spandrils are composed of bold floriations.

Inside the floriations the Hindu artist has given way to his own predilections by introducing lions and tigers. Open pillared balconies are on each side of the gate, and graceful pilasters wand-like in appearance and made up of chevrons, over which are bands of indentations, form a border to the entire gateway.

The coping is gone, the spandrils are falling to pieces, and the whole of the building is becoming more or less cracked and falling into increased decay day by day. It is a handsome structure that has been sacrificed to wanton neglect.

### TANKS.

Celebrated for an unfailing supply of good water; the glory of Gwalior was its tanks, baories, wells, and cisterns. It has been remarked by General Cunningham that Gwalior has never fallen short during times of siege in its water-supply. This is true; but it deserves to be remarked that the wells from which the drinking water is obtained, are perfectly unprotected at the foot of the Urwahi. In accounting for the existence of so many tanks in the fort (there are 14), it has been inferred that the natives multiplied them owing to the importance they attached to a fine volume of water; it has also been stated that they were better acquainted how to work them. This, I believe, is scarcely correct, for a tank: a well and a temple are recommended among the pious customs of the shastras. Each Raja also might naturally wish to identify his reign with works of the kind.

Great injury was done to the Gwalior tanks, when some medical officer thought he could improve them by having them cleansed; the removal of surface vegetation did them infinite harm. In some instances the tanks have been actually filled in and destroyed. This is the case with the Sâs Bahu, and with a tank to the south of the Gangola. Another fine tank has been ruined, *viz.*, the Mans Sawar, by turning its south-east corner into a quarry. I cannot help here remarking that this system of quarrying appears injurious to the appearance of the fort, independent of the lodgments for water that are created.

These tanks essentially belong to the monuments of the fort. Many of them were once richly ornamented with double-pillared galleries as the Rani Tal.

At the tanks the Natives offered their prayers, as well as performed their ablutions.

A few of the tanks, like the 'Gangola,' were surrounded by an enclosure of screen work. Restoration is, of course, out of the question; but when a kiosk, or piece of ornamentation, becomes shattered

it ought to be repaired instead of being removed. For some trifling advantage the picturesque crenulations of the battlements are being knocked down in favour of straight lines of parapet. Of old wells in the city of Gwalior, the number is interminable, but few are in working order <sup>1</sup>.

### SCULPTURES.

The various groups of Jaina sculptures on the Gwalior rock have been described by General Cunningham and call for little remark in a report of this kind. All that has been done in the interests of preservation has been to clear away debris, open the cells, and make the various caves accessible . . . . . This has been done in the case of the north-east group situated close to the site of the Gwalipa temple, at a height of some 70 feet, and immediately under a building whose palm pillars indicate it to have been part of the Jehangir Mahal. By improving on the natural steps of the rock an approach has been made to the caves.

These sculptures occupy a frontage of 150 feet, are divided into four caves, which are sub-divided into cells. So far as I can make out, a pillared verandah, with a breadth of 24 feet and a height of 10 feet, extended along each the frontage. A colonnade is still standing in front of No. 4 or the last cave.

These caves were excavated in the time of Dungar Sinh, and some of them present a very unfinished appearance. No. 1 is entirely empty and bare, 36'  $\times$  12', the roof having been supported on pillars. In the centre there is a square compartment, 16'  $\times$  16', with a brick dome. While the figures and the caves themselves are hewn out of the solid rock, it is to be observed that the façades and verandahs are built into it.

*No. 2 cave.*—The pillared frontage of this cave has been almost entirely removed. This is to be regretted, for the solitary pillar that remains adds another to the many beautiful columns to be found strewn about Gwalior. Its shaft is circular, and it has raised upon it fine arabesque bands, with the lotus flower forming the capital. The cave is divided into two cells, approached by two doors, 5'3"  $\times$  2'11". Over the doors are three sitting Jain figures, similarly disposed to the Hindu triad over the porches and sanctums of Brahmanical temples: A small passage, 9'  $\times$  9', leads into each cell, the dimensions of which are 12'  $\times$  9'  $\times$  14'. Light was admitted by a window over the doorway, 9 feet in height by 5 feet in breadth. A sitting Jain occupies the cell, and over his head are two hybrid-looking creatures. They have

<sup>1</sup> The stone excavated from the various tanks doubtlessly formed material for the erection of adjacent temples.

human heads and faces, but hands and feet like the claws of an eagle, and a tail like that of a bird. On their head they wear mitres.

*B.*—Cell is 12'  $\times$  7', and has two representations of Parasnath at right angles to each other.

*No. 3 Cave.*—Owing to the peeling of the rock, the door ceiling has given way, and the cave is in a very shattered condition. Its dimensions are 33'  $\times$  16', and it contains a large sitting figure 16 feet in height with a breadth of 12 feet, seated on a rich pedestal, which is like a handsomely bound book. This is the central figure, and over the other parts are bas-reliefs of various Jaina saints, devotees, &c. In this cave I found a little crystal statuette of a sitting Jain 2½"  $\times$  1½". I also found a block of black marble.

*No. 4 Cave.*—This is the largest of the group, and has a frontage of 60'  $\times$  20'. Twelve handsome pillars, with projections and indented capitals, occupy the verandah. The pillars are identical with a kind be found in the Man Mandir, having rich arabesques on the flat surface of the projections. This cave is irregular, and may be described as consisting of a number of smaller caves as distinguished from cells. The chief of these smaller caves was never finished. It had an outer and inner entrance, the latter being recessed 9 feet from the other. Its dimensions are 20'  $\times$  15', and there are side representations of Parasnath. The end sub-cave is, perhaps, the most interesting. It has a door 15'  $\times$  6', and the cell is 10'  $\times$  6'  $\times$  30'. The latter contains a large Thirthankar, 25 feet in height. There are more sculptures in this cave than any I have met with in Gwalior. Encircling the Thirthankar's head is a glory, and on each side of him are an army of heavenly attendants and musicians bearing garlands and holding in their hands every species of instrument. Many of these attendants are riding on animals, fish, &c. Pillared niches and pediments fill up every corner, while the ordinary attendants with chowries in their hands stand at the foot and on each side of the figure.

I am unable to give a complete description of this cave, or to give the story adduced from the sculptures. I have taken, however, a careful sketch of it, and am referring the same to an archæological friend. There is one figure on the left-hand side of the main statue, and which I recognise as having seen on the rock tablets of the eastern ascent, in the Urwahi and S. E. group and in the cloisters at old Delhi. It is a sleeping figure resting on her left side, and with attendants at her head and feet.

General Cunningham says that, but for the non-existence of Buddhist sculptures in Gwalior, it might pass as the dream of Maya Devi. Seeing it on the eastern ascent, he adds that it is Jain, and of this there is ample confirmation.

This outwork, where a series of Jaina caves and sculptures in bas relief are scattered over the rock, is situated in the centre of the fort, and constitutes a deep gorge running into the rock to a distance of 1,500 feet. At its narrowest point the width is about 50 feet and at the outlet or broadest some 800 feet. The rock rises precipitously, and varies from 50 to 150 feet. The deep solitude of the valley, the dark overhanging masses of rock, the dead silence only relieved by the warbling of birds and waving of the tamarind tree, give to this place a character well befitting the home of religion. No gothic chapel, with its play of light and shade, with sacred history appealing to the mind under the beautiful guise of stained glass, can surpass in fitness this simple freak of nature. General Cunningham has described the sculptures, but as they do not admit of preservation, I shall make slight allusion to them. Owing to the porous nature of the rock and the trickling of water, many of the figures and bas-reliefs have become almost obliterated on the southern side. I notice that General Cunningham says he found six inscriptions, and that he attributes the whole of the sculptures to the fifteenth century. I came across upwards of 30 inscriptions, but they have been unfortunately returned as illegible.

The Jains themselves declare that they have worshipped in this valley from time immemorial, and the number of obliterated sculptures and inscriptions point to a time long before the fifteenth century. It is certain that the Jain community feel a deep reverence for the place, testified by the fact that, when ordered out of the valley, they built a temporary chapel immediately in front of the gorge, but outside the walls. The gorge at one time did not form a portion of the fort and it was not until the time of the Emperor Altamash, A.D. 1232, that a wall was thrown across the opening.

As there was a considerable dispute last year in reference to a 'Bara Dari' which the Jains had built near the Urwahi gate, I think it right to point out that the original dispute arose from a misconception of the value the Jains attached to the Urwahi, and their long connection with it.

I have no doubt that if appealed to through the Maharaja, they would contribute towards monumental preservation. The south-eastern group of sculptures is situated close to the Lushkur city on the eastern face of the rock, and immediately under a Jain temple. They extend for upwards of half a mile, and if I am not mistaken more than one Jain temple crowned the heights running parallel with the group underneath. At all events I have come upon several suspicious sites and foundations on this side, and have unearthed several Jain statues to the south of the Gangola Tal.

Unfortunately, the inscriptions are illegible. What strengthens one's suspicions regarding the former presence of one Jain temple on this side, is the circumstance that the adjacent battlements are crowded with figures which are undoubtedly Jain statues. General Cunningham describes the south-eastern group "as by far the largest and most important, and consisting of 18 colossal statues from 20 to 30 feet in height." It would be interesting if some more detailed explanation was offered as to the presence of this important group and its isolated position from the town of Gwalior. In the absence of older Jain sculptures, or rather until older Jain sculptures in greater numbers than hitherto found in Gwalior are discovered, one would like to see some account offered for this large manifestation of the Jaina religion. Were the Gwalior Jains of the fifteenth century under some powerful patronage or protection, the Dewan, for instance, might have been a Jain. Local pandits are of opinion that Gwalior was never a great Jain centre, and support their assertion by the fact that out of hundreds of isolated sculptures that have been recovered, nine-tenths belong to the Brahmanical religion. On the other hand, it is well known that after the incursions of the first Mahomedans, it was the practice of the Jains to construct subterranean chambers for the concealment of their images. If I am not misinformed, the Jains of the present day have underground chambers in their various temples.

Some account of the object and purposes to which these caves were set apart as distinguished from the temples would be of the highest value. But all this is within the province of the archæologist proper.

Owing to the shattered condition of the south-eastern group and the peeling away of rock, it is impossible to give an accurate description of the façade. I am endeavouring, however, with the aid of other caves, and with such assistance as may eventually be at my command, to prepare a drawing of a restored façade. That of the south-eastern group was of a highly ornamental character. Admittance was obtained into each cell by doors from 8 to 10 feet in height with a breadth of 4 feet. These doors have the most beautiful bracket arches, with handsome corbels. Outside the brackets there is an outer and circular arch in high relief, and composed of various borders of lotus leaf and other flowered work. Within the spandrels are elephants, and in the centre over the door is the niched representation of a Jaina saint. Light was admitted into one or more cells by a number of pillared openings, which had bracket arches and corbels. All sign of an eaves is gone, but from the detached projecting brackets that remain there must have been one. The entablature consists of various rows of floral and geometrical work, and a *sikra* with various projections of

arabesques profusely carved, and ending off in the usual serrated top crowns each cave.

By far the greatest attraction of this group are the carvings. Inside the cells, which vary from 10 feet to 40 feet in length, from 7 feet to 35 feet in breadth, and from 15 feet to 34 feet in height, there is nothing remarkable. They are either occupied by a colossal standing Jain, who has a rich projecting canopy over his head, or of figures sitting.

In the case of a sitting Jain, he sits on an elaborate pedestal, and inside a niche made up of graceful pilasters and a handsome arch. The pilasters for delicacy of workmanship are the finest I have seen any way. They are similar, in most respects, to those of the Sâs Bahu sanctums.

Abutting the pillars and of the same length are demons resting on elephants' heads.

Over the thirthankar are elephants with their uplifted trunks ready to pour water on his head—lotus flower, pendants and frescoes, ornament ceilings. As monuments of Herculean labour, and replete with excellent carving, this group possesses much interest, but it would be hopeless to attempt preservation, as the rock is perpetually peeling and giving way. A better road up to the sculptures might be made and a more convenient platform for the accommodation of visitors. An old Mahomedan fakeer and his family have long lived in the caves, and are noted for the cleanly manner in which they keep those they occupy. A small monthly stipend to these people for looking after the caves would be well expended in the interests of monumental preservation.

#### EXCAVATIONS.

I have made no excavations in the proper sense of the term, partly because the funds at disposal were required for other purposes, and partly because I felt that the duty belonged to the Archæological Survey. Another reason has deterred me, *viz.*, that the entire surface of the fort is so covered with foundations, that in the absence of certainty as to a find, the task might prove not only an interminable but a misleading one.

Isolated articles of archæological interest may turn up now and again, but as to any treasure trove, or objects of value, these, I fear, have disappeared with the Mahomedans. Men who bestowed such an amount of labour in the decapitation of statues would not hesitate to perform the task of searching for valuables in a very thorough manner. Occasionally I have made a trench here and there and recovered a number of detached fragments. Both on the southern and western banks of the Suraj Kund I dug up a variety of sculptures and

carvings, but they all belonged to tenth century temples, and were precisely identical in every detail with that of the 'Teli Mandir.' I have searched patiently, but in vain, for the site of the Sun temple or any piece of carving which would throw light upon it. The only place I have not examined is the gun park, and this owing to its being covered with modern buildings.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS.

This report is meant for the information of the Agent to the Governor General, Central India, and is mainly a mere recital of work accomplished. The importance of monumental preservation is becoming more and more recognised as people see that the monuments themselves are in most cases the only faithful record we possess of the religion, manners, habits, and customs of the people at archaic as well as mediæval periods. If we except the scanty references made by Greek historians and the narratives of the Chinese pilgrims, there are no trustworthy accounts of India until the time of the Mahomedan conquest. From an architectural point of view the monuments are in the highest degree valuable, and their value will become more apparent as indigenous forms take the place of such as are of exotic growth. In his Handbook of Archæology Mr. Westropp says: "The architecture of a people is an important part of their history. It is the external and enduring form of their public life; it is the index of their state of knowledge and social progress."

The extent to which monumental preservation may influence the domain of art and industry, will only be felt when people appreciate the wealth that lies at their feet. The value of monumental preservation having been demonstrated, and the initiatory steps tending to further so desirable an end having been related, it is only necessary to indicate a few simple arrangements with a view of consolidating the work begun. I have related the state in which I found Gwalior, but I confess that until I took up residence in Sanchi, I was unaware that the reprehensible practice of villagers, contractors, &c., in damaging and misappropriating carved stone, was so general in India. There the tankie marks seen in columns, gateway blocks, amply testify to the truth of General Cunningham's remarks when justifying himself against the suspicion of vandalism brought by Professor Childers. No one can doubt the wisdom of the removal of the Bharut rails to Calcutta, under the existing circumstances of the time. Matters are now on a different footing, and the manifest propriety of preserving monuments *in situ* is acknowledged by every one. It is not, however, sufficient to repair a building, but provision must be made for

respecting the repairs. Some people have suggested that a short legislative enactment would summarily dispose of the reprehensible practice hitherto in vogue. I think the end sought may be attained by other means than repressory measures. Now that Government is engaged in the task of conservation, monuments appear before the Native public in a new light.

Unacquainted with the object of excavations, it was natural for them to infer that there was no great harm in carting away dressed stone, when they thought the attention of our own people was solely devoted to the extraction of relic caskets. All this is changed and a new impression generated. In the crowds that have visited Gwalior and are now visiting Sanchi, I have abundant evidence of a new feeling. To foster and encourage the feeling, I should like to see every place of historical celebrity converted as much as possible into a pleasure resort. Beyond a general surveillance on the part of the Native custodian, I should recommend no other precautionary measure. Notice boards ought to be freely posted, warning visitors against defacement, mutilation, &c., and parents ought to be held responsible for the good conduct of their children. The allotment of a small sum for a chokedar, mali, and sweeper out of local funds will be a necessary arrangement in each place of interest. A short account of each monument in the vernacular might be drawn up and sold to Native visitors, while guide books and photographs ought to be available for the European public. The small percentage gained on sale of books, &c., would stimulate the custodian's zeal. A careful catalogue of all the detached sculptures ought to be furnished to each Residency, while an inventory board ought to be kept and frequently verified on the spot. In the case of Gwalior, thanks to the exertions of Generals Gordon and Massy, an establishment has been sanctioned for the museum, the chief duties of which are to ward off damage and ensure cleanliness about the monuments.

J. B. KEITH, *Major,*  
*late Royal Scots,*  
*Superintending Monumental*  
*Preservation, Fortress Gwalior.*

SANCHI,  
*The 28th February 1883.*

## APPENDIX A.

## ARTS, INDUSTRIES, &amp;c.

## (1) STONE CARVING.

This beautiful indigenous art has flourished for centuries in Gwalior. Unhappily it is a purely traditional one<sup>1</sup>. Works like Ram Raz, which treat of southern architecture, are unknown to the Gwalior people.

The work of to-day is equal, both in execution and design, to that of any other period, and this notwithstanding the want of patronage and the dwarfed size of the buildings that are erected. Compared with the Muttra work, that of Gwalior is finer in execution, and the examples in corbelled doorways, corrugated eaves, brackets, are more varied. Monumental preservation, by showing Natives that the works of their fathers are both admired and respected, ought to be an incentive to the Gwalior artist, and the encouragement given by the South Kensington Museum at the hands of Mr. Purdon Clarke is likely to be of much value. Again, Anglo-Indians seem inclined to abandon the abominable stereotyped European model; and when they do so, Natives will fall back upon their own appropriate art. Seeing that the work is better appreciated, workmen are bestowing more pains upon it. The Mahratta Government, it is true, have no taste for this or any other art, and the poverty of Gwalior has for many years forbidden any indulgence in it. With the introduction, however, of commerce and industry, there can be little doubt that many a wealthy soucar will devote a portion of his surplus wealth to the adornment of his hearth. In places where there are no stone or stone carvers, and assuming them not to be too distant, a place like Gwalior might supply bazaar fronts, mantel pieces, &c.

There are four quarries chiefly lying between Dholepur and Gwalior, and at a distance of 10 miles from the latter place where stone is obtained. It is there sold for 2 annas 9 pie a square foot to the general public, and for Rs. 9 per 100 square feet to the English public works. The beams are sometimes as much as 36 feet in length, 3

<sup>1</sup> Architecture, as well known, is discussed at length in the shastras and rules laid down for its guidance; still to the ordinary workman these books are like sealed documents. It is pretty much the same with all Indian arts. Startled by the diversity of patterns a workman once exhibited to me, I enquired from where he had procured them, his answer was, "they are in my head."

feet in thickness, and 4 feet in breadth. There are upwards of a thousand skilled workmen in Gwalior, rajs getting from 5 annas 3 pie to 8 annas, boys 1 anna 6 pie, and bildars 3 annas 6 pie, per diem. Mistries get from Rs. 15 to 60 per month, and the best men are Sukhi Lal and Mussaie Ram. Ordinary perforated screen-work is about 8 annas per square foot; the more intricate carving, such as raised floral work, fetching Rs. 6 per square foot. In one of the Jaina caves I found a block of black marble which must have been imported, for there are no quarries in the neighbourhood of Gwalior.

## (2) COLOURED TILES.

Conspicuous among the old Gwalior arts was that of ornamenting in glazed tiles.

Notwithstanding the extent to which this pleasing ornamentation was once carried on, the art is now a defunct one, and furnishes a striking instance of the danger incidental to starving a purely traditional art. Once it is gone, it cannot be resuscitated. Tiles are manufactured in the Indian art schools, but they cannot compare to the old work which formerly ornamented the façades and interiors of mosques, palaces, which has stood the wear and tear of some 400 years, and even now presents a rich mellow tint. I have made several experiments in Gwalior, but the glaze has always proved deficient, the substance being either too thick or too fine, the colour too bright or too subdued. Glazed tile-work is usually found on Mahomedan buildings, of which there are several fine examples in Guzerat, at Muttra, Lahore, Multan, Jehangir's palace in Agra, &c.

In Gwalior I have traced it on the sloping towers of a Pathan arch that flanks the northern end of the town, as well as on the dome of Muhammad Ghaus' tomb. The special interest, however, that attaches itself to the Gwalior tile-work is due to Raja Man Sinh (A.D. 1486 to 1516) adopting it on a large scale, and adapting it to forms that Mahomedan buildings naturally exclude. Men, animals, birds, fish, including elephants, tigers, panthers, crocodile, pea-fowl, ducks, parrots, all find delineation on Raja Man's creations. The best examples are to be found on the southern frontage of the 'Man Mandir,' on the towers of its eastern gateway, on the 'Gujari Mahal,' on the Alamgiri gate and buildings in the Badalghurh outwork. The Dhoonda entrance, with its intermediate gateways, was once covered with it, but now it does not possess a vestige of the old work. A fair idea of the general appearance of the 'Dhoonda' may be formed on an examination of the lower entrance, Garh Garj. Here the raised borders of garlands and various patterns of diapered work must have been highly effective.

A window over the gateway facing the room, which accommodated the guard, had animals, &c., intertwined in the screen-work. This gateway is in such a dilapidated state, that it ought either to be secured, or the interesting relics of tile-work removed to the museum for safe custody.

When the different frontages of the 'Man Mandir' were in their integrity, they must have communicated an almost Alhambra-like fascination.

Inside the palace the various courts and side rooms were covered, the latter with little patterns of diamonds and circles. I take it the floor was of the same material, and if so, the whole must have resembled Mosaic work. Many beautiful patterns covered the Gujari Mahal, and among them I have observed the outspread peacock's tail, which was adopted for the interiors of domes.

When this art died out in Gwalior is unknown. I do not think it ever had a very lengthened existence, for it is chiefly found on the works of Raja Man Singh; it came as it were meteor-like, and then disappeared.

An attempt apparently was made to resuscitate it at a later date, but it only resulted in coloured plaster, examples of which are found in the Badalghurh outwork, and better known from being seen in the Chini-ka-roza of Agra. The dimensions of the tiles are, for exteriors  $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5'' \times \frac{1}{4}''$ , and for interiors 2'' long.

I ought to mention that there is a man in the Bulandshahr Zila, Abul Majid<sup>1</sup>, recently found in obscurity by Mr. Growse, C.I.E., who works well both in pottery and tiles. There are men also in Gwalior who would be ready to come forward if they only received encouragement, but here there are no industrial exhibitions and no one to suggest them.

### (3) METAL-WARE.

#### (a) Jewellery.

In a great ecclesiastical centre, at one time covered with shrines, more particularly in days when Gwalior had a race of ancient kings, the goldsmith and silversmith's art must have been in great requisition. The inscription in the Sâs Bahu porch alone records a long list of gold and silver vessels that were used in the service of the temple, together with the previous stones that decorated the 'tiarad and mitred heads of gods and goddesses. I am not in a qualified position to say what relics there are, if any have been found, in Gwalior.

<sup>1</sup> Abul Majid has recently furnished me with some samples of tile work, and they are very close reproductions of old pieces I sent him from Gwalior. I think it is quite equal, if not superior, to anything worked in the art schools.

Any one seeking information on such a subject lies under a peculiar disadvantage, for often interesting relics find their way into the hands of some curio-monger, who is not a collector in the proper sense of the term and appraises the articles from a wrong stand-point. If, on the contrary, he forwarded them to General Cunningham or some competent archæologist, history and the public would be gainers by the course pursued. So far as Gwalior is concerned, I have been told by the natives of silver statuettes and a variety of other interesting articles being found from time to time, but of these there is no record. But for the kindness of General Cunningham and a few others, one might search in vain.

These articles have either found their way to the Maharaja's lumber room where they are relegated to oblivion, or they have been made presents to people who attach a very secondary value to them.

This was evidently the case with a fine marble statue, with some bronzes, brasses, and a number of other things. But to return to the jewellery,—I have prepared, for subsequent publication, a selection of the best patterns to be found on Gwalior temples, still left standing, as well as a few taken from detached fragments. With regret it must be confessed that they reveal nothing of an archaic shape, like those found at Bharhut and Sanchi. They only add to the argument which discredits the belief of there being anything pre-historic about the fort. It was free from any Dravidian character, and in this particular dissimilar from the architectural details, some of which betray a southern origin. Simplicity is its ruling characteristic, a flower bud, a petal, the lotus leaf, or a flower full blown constitute the simple repository from which designs are culled. Frontlets for the hair, ear-rings, necklaces, armlets, bracelets, girdles for the waist, festooned ornaments for the thighs, make up the chief ornaments. I have found neither nose nor toe rings on the old Gwalior sculptures. The *frontlets* are generally very simple:—

- (1) Represents a band of gold about  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch in breadth, with rich beading round the edges and vertical indentations in the centre of the band.
- (2) A row of festoons with rich pendants at intervals.
- (3) One solitary diamond in the centre about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch in length.
- (4) A diamond and two circles, the former in the centre, and the latter at the sides.
- (5) A band  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch in thickness, with rich beading at the sides, and a number of jewels of different sizes and shapes in the centre. From intervals of the lower binding pendants are hung.

*Earrings* have very few patterns—

- (1) A plain circular ring about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch in diameter, inside of which is another ring with diagonal indentation. There is a rich binding around the outer rim.
- (2) A circular ring enclosing another but smaller circular ring. Between the outer and smaller ring are clusters of pearls.
- (3) One ring from which hangs another.

(b).—*Armlets.*

- (1) A very fine armlet, is like a triangle, two sides of which are lopped off just at the point of meeting, and a vertical rim substituted ; inside this figure are three fully blown flowers. The armlet seems to have no binding.
- (2) This is a popular one and worn at this hour. It is  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inch in width, bound with large beads, and the inside plate of gold is indented with chevrons.
- (3) Is an armlet I have not observed on any woman of the present day. It consists of two cylindrical bands about an inch apart. From the upper band is suspended three flower drops, which rest on the lower.
- (4) Is another armlet that I do not find in modern wear. It is of the same width as the others, but divided into double rows of festoons.
- (5) This is a continuous piece of ornament like a gauntlet.

(c).—*Bracelet.*

The hands having been cut off by the Mahomedans in most instances, I have been unable to make a collection of any bracelet, either artistic or archaic. Probably they differed little from modern work ; of this I have made a collection, but explanation is unnecessary with sketches.

(d).—*Necklaces.*

In the wearing of necklaces, the same amount of caprice was shown as at the present day. Sometimes one, sometimes two, and as many as four, are seen on the old sculptures.

These, again, in their sub-division show sometimes one string and as many as five. They were made of either gold beads or stones. A very artistic pattern is seen in strings of beads which overlap each other. A favourite necklace on the old sculptures is a chain of beads like a stalk of Indian-corn.

*(e).—Chains.*

These often take the form of a string of beads suspended from the neck and reaching to the waist, with a medallion attached.

As girdles they encircle the waist, and either take the form of strings of beads, a spiral chord, a plain hammered band about 1 inch in width, a cylindrical band with festoons, or a plain cable chain.

From the girdle is suspended a number of chains, which extend to the knee joint, and these are either plain or have pendants.

*(f).—Leglets.*

As the legs fared in much the same way as the arms, I have been unable to notice anything peculiar that calls for remark. Where recognisable, the leglets seemed to take the form of a serpent's coil.

*(g).—Anklets.*

What I have said with regard to bracelets and leglets holds true of anklets, so I can only attempt at some subsequent time to supply the deficiency by illustrations of what is worn in Gwalior at the present day.

Poverty forbids the display of any fine collection of jewellery in Gwalior. From upwards of 400 goldsmiths and silversmiths' houses the number is reduced to 20. With prosperity, however, the demand would be again in requisition. Before leaving this subject, I ought to mention that two of the finest pieces of jewellery in the world are connected with Gwalior, *viz.*, the Kohinoor diamond and Scindia's great chain of pearls. Both of these were heirlooms, but it is more than doubtful if either of them were made in Gwalior. According to General Cunningham, the Kohinoor diamond was the property of the Tomara Rajas, and in all likelihood was given by Vikramagit, who fell at Paniput, A.D. 1526, to the Moghul Emperor. It weighed 580 English grains, was of the shape of half an egg with a flat top  $1\frac{6}{10}$  inch in length. Scindia's great chain of pearls finds allusion in Birdwood's Industrial Arts.

*(h).—Crystal.*

By far the most curious thing that has been found in Gwalior is a little crystal statuette of a sitting Jain<sup>1</sup>. This I recovered only a few months ago, when opening out the north-east group of caves in con-

<sup>1</sup> During the last few months thousands of Natives have visited my quarters, more particularly members of the Jain community, to see the statuette. The fact is worth recording, for it shows how deeply permeated the Hindus are with a belief in talismanic influences, &c.

junction with Major Crowdy, R.E. It is  $3'' \times 1\frac{1}{4}''$  in measurement, and wholly unmutilated. The Gwalior caves must have been well looted, for there is not a precious metal statue or statuette to be found any way.

#### (4) BRASSES, BRONZES, COPPER.

In the course of investigation I have not myself met with any old brasses or bronzes in the fort, but I have ascertained that several bronzes were discovered by Mr. Parker, Executive Engineer, when carrying out the demolitions in 1869. These were found near the Man Sawar tank, and were forwarded to the museum in Calcutta. I have since learned from General Cunningham that he saw in the house of the agent to the Delhi Bank a bronze statue of Vishnu and a bronze lamp which were found in the Gwalior fort. I shall try and find out where the discovery was made.

Last year a copper jug was found near the Man Sarwar tank, but it was of no value. I believe the Gwalior *karegars* must at one time have worked considerably in copper, for I found quite lately in the possession of a poor old starving man at the Ladheri gate katoras and betel-boxes beautifully embossed.

#### (5) IRON ARMOURY, &C.

Formerly, as now, large quantities of iron existed in the Maharaja's territory, and wrought-iron was greatly used in the clamping of the pyramid roofs of tenth century temples. I have dug up fragments of it all over the fort, and seen traces of its early use in door sockets, curtain rings, &c.

I have also met with a quantity of arrows  $\frac{1}{2}'' \times \frac{1}{4}''$ .

M. Schwartz, a gentleman recently resident in Morar, came to India a few years ago, under engagement to start iron mills in His Highness the Maharaja's territory, but it does not seem that the calculated prospective return was sufficiently large to induce His Highness to embark in the undertaking. At all events there was a nervous timidity in the matter, especially in the absence of

Inlaying.

coal and the difficulty of obtaining fuel to smelt the iron. Covering sword hilts with silver wire, or a sort of bidri work, formerly gave occupation to about 80 houses in Gwalior, but now only four men, in reduced circumstances, carry on the trade. In by-gone years, a certain proportion of these workmen used to accompany armies to the field, but when the military races of India found themselves proscribed in the privilege of perpetually invading each

other's territory, these workmen also settled down to a more stationary life. They continued in Gwalior to enjoy a lucrative occupation until the British Government prohibited the wearing of arms in English territory; then their export trade ceased. A hard-working, quiet, industrious class of men are the hiltmakers, but they are now in very destitute circumstances. I recently made an experiment to see whether their art could not be adapted to other purposes, and got the workmen to make me an octagon tray, the surface being covered with a frescoe I selected from the Karan Mandir. The tray has been more or less a success, although it wants the finish of Moradabad and Sialkote work. The workmanship would also be improved if single, instead of double, wires were used, as in the case of the Manipuri wood frames.

### *Engraving.*

Iron engraving was once carried to great perfection in this district, and I have seen some choice specimens in gauntlets, baskets, sword hilts, &c. Not many months ago, it was restricted to one poor man who was then sick. If he is no longer alive, the art in all probability has perished with him.

### *Armoury.*

From the few specimens of beautiful iron-work that I had found in obscurity and neglect, I concluded that His Highness the Maharaja Scindia must have a choice collection of ancient arms, seeing that he was not only the head of a great Mahratta power himself, but succeeded to a portion of the Rajput inheritance.

I applied for permission to inspect and photograph the same armoury, a permission which was eventually granted me. I cannot but think there was some mistake in the number of articles exhibited, as they did not represent a fraction of what may be met with in the most ordinary private collection. There were not more than 20 articles in all, and the display was of an altogether unarchaic description. It included matchlocks, swords, lances, knives, headmen's axes, bows and arrows, and leather shields.

To these may be added three curious weapons, one in the shape of a workman's pick, another called a *dawn*, and a third, a *gung*, or skull cracker.

#### *(1) Matchlocks.*

The length of these were 6 feet 7 inches and the length of barrel 4 feet 11 inches. The latter was bound to the stock by a curious vegetable product called 'kusery.'

These matchlocks differed very little from the ordinary old English matchlock, and had very little ornamentation, *i.e.*, a small quantity of gold flowering on the stock.....They were manufactured in Nurwar, trade-mark three half moons.

(2) *Swords.*

A few of these were straight, but the greater number of them were scimitar shape. Their average length was about 2 feet 6 inches, with a breadth of  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch. Nearly all of them were of beautiful temper and covered with a sort of damascened work. The hilts were, in most cases, richly inlaid with gold, and the sheaths of brocaded green velvet.

(3) *Lances.*

Total length 7 feet; length of sword-shaped blade 2 feet 8 inches. Shaft a rod of iron  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in diameter.

(4) *Knives.*

There was nothing remarkable in the show of knives; some of which were straight, some sickle-shaped, and some like an ordinary dagger. The handles, as a rule, were very fine; some made of ivory, others of richly embossed gold, and some set in jewels, such as rubies, &c.

(5) *A pick-shaped weapon.*

It has a handle  $21\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and a blade, the length of which is  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches breadth at hilt 2 inches, tapering to a sharp point. The cylindrical handle, about 1 inch in diameter, is formed of a strong iron centre running throughout its length, on either side of which are riveted four pieces of ivory. Where the handle and blade meet, it is heavily weighted by a cubical piece of iron metal  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch square, the blade of which forms a slight curve.

(6) *A steel instrument called "Gung," or Skull-cracker."*

Its total length is 32 inches, length of blade 24 inches. The so-called blade is a cylindrical bar of steel, terminating in a purely formed end of radiating steel plates, each of them being 4 inches in length. It has a basket hilt and a frog in prolongation  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

(7) *Bows, Arrows*<sup>1</sup>.

The bows when strung are 3 feet 6 inches, height of arc 7 inches. They are made of steel; covered with the most beautiful flowered lacquer work.

<sup>1</sup> At Paravas, a village to the north of Gwalior, bows and arrows are still manufactured. Near Paravas and at a village called Kkota swords and guns are manufactured.

A quiver of brocaded green velvet holds the arrows, which are made of some reed from the river side and covered with lacquer.

#### COINS.

During a residence of four years in the fortress, I have only met with one find of coins. These were recovered last year (1881) at the close of the seasonal rains, and found in a copper jug to the north-east of the Man Sarwar tank, and on the exact spot where were discovered some years ago a marble statue and a number of bronzes.

Through the kindness of General Cunningham I learn that the coins are Indo-Sassanian, of a period between A.D. 800 and 900. On the obverse is a rude form of a man's head, and on the reverse is a fire altar with attendants.

#### PAINTING.

This art does not seem to have been cultivated to any great extent by the Hindus of Gwalior. In a building to the south of the Man Mandir, but only a few yards from it, there is a room the walls of which were at one time covered with figured painting in panels, depicting scenes from the Hindu pantheon. A plaster, some  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch in thickness, was the material on which the paint was spread; but so besmeared with dirt and obliterated by time are the panels, that I could only recognise one scene in the life of Rama and Sita. The fine dome that covers the 'Hathiya Paur,' or entrance gateway, to the Man Mandir is covered with frescoes in black and white; similarly, the turrets that crown the southern frontage to the palace have their interiors covered with frescoes. Men, pea-fowl, fish, are still to be recognised, and they appear to have been well painted. I am inclined to think that this painted work formed no part of the original decoration, and was simply used as a substitute for the tile-work. If a visitor looks very closely, he will see that the canopies over the head of Adinath and other Jain Thirthankars in the Urwahi have painted frescoes. In the 'Karan Mandir' there are several very beautiful and elaborate frescoes in a bath-room, and the side walls of the rooms appear at one time to have been covered with all sorts of geometrical patterns.

As this palace bears all the marks of Mahomedan transformation, and as there are still vestiges of tile-work on the domes, I believe it was covered both exteriorly and interiorly with tile ornamentation. By far the greater number of frescoes in Gwalior belong to the later Mahomedans, such as those in the Karan Mandir, over

the doors of the Jehangir palace, on the roofing of the verandah that encloses Muhammad Ghaus' tomb, as well as on several places of minor sepulchre. The few painters that are to be met with in Gwalior at the present day are exclusively Mahomedans, the descendants of court painters, during the time of the Moghuls. Unfortunately, in these poverty-stricken days to which Gwalior is reduced, there is little field for improvement, and the paintings that ornament the 'Moti Mahal,' the new temple of Mahadeo, are more distinguished for vulgarity than refinement; for a liberal instead of a judicious use of the brush, English actresses in flesh tights, British sepoy uniforms, are the favourite subjects that occupies the artist's imagination.

### MUSIC.

Gwalior is no exception to other archæological centres in proving how popular and universal has been the cultivation of music in Gwalior from the earliest times. Outside on the plinths of temples, inside on freizes, on sculptured niches, over the Thirthankars' heads, and subordinate Jaina saints in caves, as well as in richly-carved mediæval columns, and amidst a variety of scroll-work, the musician is always to be found. The musical instruments include the harp, guitar, flute, French horn, tambouriné, concertina, and drum. Whatever misfortune may have overtaken certain arts and industries of Gwalior, the musician's art is not likely to languish for want of patronage. He is duly provided for in endowments and wills, and is to be seen in all anniversaries. The starvation of industries may mean idleness, but idleness must be amused. In a native state the custom of giving dinners and accepting entertainments is carried out to a much greater extent than in British territory. A Sirdar may be up to the ears in debt, but no amount of indebtedness will dispense him from the sacred obligation of entertainments. He cannot economise or reduce his establishment like a European who oversteps his income. All his numerous retinue must be retained, and among them the musician is part of the monthly establishment. Some of the Europeans in the Maharaja Scindia's service until recent years, conformed very much to the customs and usages of the people among whom their lot is cast, while the Eurasian descendants of the first European mercenaries adopt very nearly in its integrity the nationalism of the country. Nominally they are Christians, but Hindustani customs predominate. Their wives keep purdah, and only go to the church at Easter, Xmas, and high days of festival. Where there is a wedding in the family, the bride does not accompany

her husband after the Christian ceremony, but returns to her father's house. After this, and for the ten days following, the families of bride and bridegroom give a series of dinners at their respective houses. I have heard of the most impoverished parents belonging to this class scouring the country to borrow money for these entertainments, rather than allow a single Hindustanee custom to be passed over. At these entertainments the musician is in invariable requisition, and the songs of Major Florence Filose (now a Naib Dewan), said to be a proficient composer in Persian, are sung.

### DRESS.

Dress, as shown in the very interesting remarks of Dr. Rajendra-lala Mitra, in his *Indo-Aryans*, has had from the earliest times considerable attention paid to it by the natives of Hindustan. He goes on to observe that stone is a very bad substance to convey a description of dress. All the Gwalior sculptures simply add to the general evidence furnished elsewhere, which shows that dress was cultivated from the earliest times. Putting the Jain sculptures aside, there is not an instance of a nude figure to be found in the fort. I may also observe that the Gwalior sculptures are wonderfully free from any traces of pruriency or baldness. The prevailing garment worn in this district would appear to have been the Dacca or flowered muslin garment, which was in vogue in India at the time of the Alexandrian invasion. A garment like the old material is still imported from Benares into the district, but it is evidently of European manufacture. On the 'Teli Mandir' and other buildings I find distinct traces of embroidered cloth. .... On the older sculptures the figure not unfrequently appears nude down to the waist, and then a loose garment, or *dothi*, is thrown over the loins and extends down to the ankle, in a manner familiar to those who are acquainted with the present dress of the Burmese and natives of Malabar. On a few sculptures a sort of vest is worn, but on none have I seen anything like a tunic. The frilled petticoat, which is the ordinary dress of the common people in towns, and which partakes something of crinoline on the wives of bunniahs and Jaina bankers, is unknown on any carving that I have met with in Gwalior. On the other hand, the villagers adhere to a sort of white robe made up of one piece, which gives an under-garment in the shape of a petticoat, the upper portion being secured round the waist and shoulders in the shape of a plaid. In by-gone years the number of cotton-print-sellers in Gwalior were reckoned about 100 houses, but now the occupation of these people, like that of Othello's, is gone, and

one solitary representative, with his two sons, administers to the wants of the poorest of the poor. Manchester piece-goods have long superseded indigenous manufacture, and starved many a necessitous family.

### HEAD AND FOOT GEAR.

If clothing is not very accurately defined on the Gwalior sculptures, the most capricious or fastidious lady of modern fashion could find no fault with the elaborate and varied coiffure to be found on the Gwalior sculptures. They well illustrate the trite saying, that there is nothing new in the world.

(1) On the earliest examples men and women seem to have worn their hair in much the same way as the curl-pated minions of Charles II.

(2) Chignons, it is known, made their advent in the tenth century and were long the favourite fashion.

(3) Between the ninth and twelfth centuries the gods and goddesses are generally represented with a felt covering, not very different to a bishop's or patriarch's hat. The hair in this case is concealed, but whether it was shaven or not, I am unable to say. In one instance the hair is coiled up in a net which hangs pendulous from the mitre.

(4) Among the Jain head dresses there is an amount of covering like a wig, and with as many niceties and diversities of size and shape as may be seen in Westminster Hall.

(5) A peculiar way of dressing the hair is for a sort of fringe to fall over the brows, and for the back hair to be coiled up in a sort of pyramid, the rigidity of which is secured by a broad jewelled clasp.

(6) Another very curious way of disposing the hair is by placing three rows of curls behind the fringe; as these curls stand perpendicular to the roots of the hair, it is difficult to account for this disposition, unless secured by some metal frame work. A still more extraordinary fashion is for five curls to stand out from the crown of the hair like porcupines' quills. To recount all the tortuous ways by which the ornamentation of female hair is arrived at, would be simply to recount the history of female vanity that has existed in all times and countries since the commencement of the world, — a task to which these few pages lays no pretension. Many of the fashions are not new, but simply repeat themselves.

Out of hundreds of sculptures which I have examined, I have found but one solitary instance of foot gear, and this while the Public Works Department were dismantling a comparatively modern building in the Jehangir court.

There is no trace of it on any of the ninth or tenth century temples in Gwalior, or on any subsequent to them. I infer the stone belonged to a much earlier period.

The foot gear represents a sort of half Wellington boot, and the toe is covered with some sort of flowering or embroidery.

## APPENDIX B.

## THE DETACHED SCULPTURES OR MUSEUM.

The battlements of Fortress Gwalior are crowded with detached pieces of sculpture, and it is impossible to loosen a few yards of ground in any portion of the fort without coming on dressed stone. Seeing that the earlier history of the fort lies more or less in obscurity, a collection of detached sculptures may prove of the utmost interest to the archæologist. When fresh constructive works are being got ready, when repairs are being carried out, and more especially at the end of the seasonal rains, frequent opportunities are offered for the collection of sculptures. An exceptional opportunity of this sort offered itself in 1869, when extensive demolitions took place, in order to prepare foundations for new barracks. The occasion was not taken advantage of, or rather I should say it was neglected, many sculptures being either thrown over the wall or relegated to the modern cantonment of Morar.

The steps that have been taken in rectification of this are fully detailed in the prepatory remarks.

Underneath are appended a catalogue of the few sculptures that have been already collected:—

(1) A naked Jain statue, 10' × 3', with the *ficus religiosa* round the arms and thighs. A lizard creeps up the left arm, the hair droops in curls on the shoulders, and a glory encircles the head. This statue was found near a temple dedicated to Parasnath on the Gangola Tal.

(2) Representation of a Jain Thirthankar—Is a statue 10 feet long. The hair is worn in the shape of a long wig.

(3) A miniature temple, 4' 5" × 2'. This little temple was found by me in 1879, embedded in the walls of the Suraj Kund. Its door and porch bear a striking resemblance to the 'Teli Mandir,' being proportionately the same size. I take it to be a votive offering.

(4) This is a duplicate of the foregoing one.

(5) A large demon's head, 5 feet in height with a shaggy mane. This I found when digging round the 'Teli Mandir.'

(6) A double-headed tiger, 6 feet long, now occupying southern niche of gateway. This I found near the Trikonja Tal.

(7) A tiger fighting with a man.

This once occupied a niche in one of the intermediate gateways of the Garh Garj entrance.

(8) Pillar.

This is an exceedingly handsome pillar which was found in the Urwahi valley. It is 6 feet 4 inches long and 1 foot 2 inches in diameter: This is sub-divided into eight parts.

Proceeding from the base, the *first part* has an octagon only, the carving of three fronts completed, and they represent parrots clinging to trees.

*Second part*, an octagon, is made up of a number of incompleated arabesques.

*Third part*, an octagon, represents graceful festoons.

*Fourth part*, an octagon, is divided into niches, representing various Brahmanical scenes, but so obliterated as to defy recognition.

*Fifth*, an octagon, is like a band of *fleur de lis*, with bell pendants.

*Sixth*, is a hexagon rim, representing Mahadeo and Parvati reclining on a stool which has curved joints.

*Seventh* is a band of lotus leaves, 4, in height.

*Eight* is a rim 5 inches in height, representing horned demons.

*Ninth*, or the summit band, represents lotus half opened.

The capital of the pillar is gone, and it is difficult to say to what it belonged. Its character is old.

(9) Is a pillar nearly 7 feet high, with almost plain shaft of a few rims with demons and flowers towards the top.

(10) A mediæval pillar, 10 feet long, with a diameter of 1 foot 3 inches; a large portion of the shaft is a plain square. There is one square rim 9 inches broad, with a demon's head in the centre, from whose mouth hangs festoons. Within the arcs forming the festoons there is an animal like a unicorn.

This pillar finishes off at base and summit with a flower vase. It was found on the Suraj Kund, and probably belonged to a colonnade.

(11) A mediæval pillar, 5 feet 4 inches in height, with a diameter of 1 foot 6 inches. The pillar is divided into various projections and bands, these being at one time square, then of the shape of an octagon, and again of a circular shape. Birds and flowers, with a leaf like the vine, are beautifully conventionalised. I found it among some friezes and distinctive Jaina remains not far from the Sâs Bahu.

(12) Is a slab 1' 10" x 1' 9", representing a four-armed statue of the goddess Durga. The upper left-hand is bent, while the little finger of the upper left hand rests against the lip. The upper left-arm and the lower left-hand clasp a staff which is ornamented with a death's head. The upper right-hand clasps a flower, while the lower right-hand holds a dagger. She wears a necklace of deaths' heads. A jewelled cinclot with a death's head in the centre forms the head ornamentation.

(13) Is a representation of Gunesh,  $4' \times 1' 8''$ .

(14) Is a statue of Parasnath, with an outstretched serpent for a back ground.

(15) Is a block  $4' 6'' \times 1' 4''$ , with four representations of Santanetha, the 16th Thirthankar. This is a statue of Dungar Sinh's time from the Urwahi.

(16) Is a representation of Hunuman,  $3' 10'' \times 1' 8''$ . I have met with few representations of this god among the sculptures of Gwalior.

(17) A slab,  $S 3' 2'' \times 1'$ .

This represents dancing girls who carry in their hands large circular mirrors. It stood near the Trikonja Tal, and probably belonged to the Jayanti-thora temple, destroyed by Altamsh A.D. 1232.

(18) Is a representation of Lukshmee. It is  $3' 1'' \times 1' 9''$ .

(19) A slab,  $6' \times 4'$ .

This contains a representation of Chandraprabha, the 8th Jain Thirthankar. There is the usual canopy with heavenly attendants holding garlands in their hands, musicians, &c. On the borders of the slab are the 24th Thirthankars sitting on pediments.

(20) Is a slab  $4' 10'' \times 2' 9''$ .

It contains a representation of a four-armed Brahmanical deity, with a lion at one side of the feet and a deer at the other. It was dug out close to the 'Teli Mandir,' but as it does not fit any of the niches of the existing temple, it probably belonged to an older one.

(21) Four circular pillars.

They have a diameter of  $1' 1''$  and a length of  $2' 7''$ .

There is a border  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in depth, representing men with their arms and legs intertwined. These pillars I found in a nook of the battlements overlooking the Garh Garg gate.

Similar ones may be seen in the Kutub corridor serving the purpose of attic pillars.

(22) Represents the shafts of a pillar with dancing girls upon it, and similar to those so much admired in the Bahu Mandir.

(23) Is a Jaina freize with two Thirthankars niched, and in a sitting posture on each side. This freize is interesting on account of its ornament being identical with a Brahmanical freize, the same pillared niches, pinnacled coping, &c.

Where the difference lies is in the conventional attitude of the standing and sitting figures.

(24) Is a square pyramid stone 1 foot 4 inches in height, the sides of the square being 1 foot 9 inches. The serrated tops at the corners and the small Jain figures in niches, the whole with a large serrated figure on the top, point it out as a stone belonging to the pyramid roof of some Jain temple.

(25) Is a small sitting figure of Naminatha, or the 21st Thirthankar.

(26) Is a slab, 3' 10" × 1' 4".

Has a representation of what must once have been a ten-armed Brahmanical deity. He wears long ringlets drooping over the shoulders, and over the head is a small Jain figure. This small figure has only recently been decapitated by some mischievous person.

I took it out of a portion of wall on the eastern battlements running parallel with the larger Sâs Bahu.

(27) Two Jaina pedestal, one with an inscription. These were found by me on the basement floor of the Parasnath temple, near the Gangola Tal.

(28) A block 3' × 2".

Representing a Brahmanical figure wearing a chignon. This I extracted from the Urwahi.

(29) A block, 4' × 3"

It represents some god with his female energy attendants, &c. I extracted it from a wall near the Urwahi gate. It belonged probably to a tenth century temple, for it corresponds with a similar ornamentation on the 'Teli Mandir.'

*Note.*—Since the above was written I have laid out the main frontage to the museum. Both Europeans and Natives are taking much interest in it. Colonel Bannerman has kindly tried to obtain the intervention of the darbar in making known to natives the efforts that are being made to conserve their monuments and popularise their chief local art. To Colonel Bannerman's assistance General Massy has testified the deepest interest in the museum and monumental preservation.

During the recent rains I have visited most of the country north of Gwalior and conveyed to the museum a number of neglected fragments. If I succeed in recruiting my funds, I hope to utilize many of them, particularly pillars. I intend also to continue my search over Central India.

At my solicitation an establishment consisting of the following has been granted, *vis.*—

1. A European guide or general superintendent.
2. Native writer.
3. Mali.
4. Chowkedar.
5. Sweeper.
6. Bhisti.

The duties of the museum establishment would be—

- (1) To extend a general supervision to all the historical buildings in the fortress, visiting them regularly, and being held responsible that they are properly cleansed.
- (2) To carefully watch that no mutilation, defacement, or unauthorised search for treasure takes place.
- (3) To see that natives do not use buildings without express permission.
- (4) To see that no fires are lighted in the vicinity of historical buildings.

(30) Is the figure of a woman. She holds a lota in her hand and wears her hair in the fashion of a Chinaman's pig tail. Her undergarment has a number of frills to it.

- (5) To see that Mahomedan contractors do not make away with sculptures or dressed stone.
- (6) When a curio of archæological interest, or an inscription, is found, to have it immediately removed to the museum.
- (7) In places where there is a difficulty of fulfilling the above, to solicit the aid of the Public Works Department.
- (8) To report to the commandant that the duties have been fulfilled.



